MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE
IN
MAHARASHTRA
1801 - 1827

(A study with special reference to the
Territories Conquered From The Peshwa)

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CONTENTS

Chapter | | **Pages**

I INTRODUCTION 1-27

The growth of imperial sentiment - anglication of India - utilitarian view point regarding India - the purpose of the study

II BACKGROUND OF ELPHINSTONE'S CAREER IN INDIA 28-63

Elphinstone's family background - Political scene in India in general and that of the land of the Marathas in particular on the eve of Elphinstone's arrival - Importance of Maharashtra to the British - Elphinstone's first appointment in India - Elphinstone's pre-resident period 1801-1808. Elphinstone's journey to Pune. Political scene at Pune at the time of Elphinstone's arrival - Elphinstone as diplomat and soldier under Sir Arthur Wellesley - Elphinstone at the battle of Asai - Elphinstone at Gawilgad - similarities between Elphinstone and Sir Arthur Wellesley - Elphinstone as Resident at Nagpur and Shinde's court.

III ELPHINSTONE AS RESIDENT 1811-1817 64-153

External situation - Internal situation

Chapter Pages

British Residents and the Pune court - Elphinstone as Resident - Events leading to the signing of the Pandharpur Treaty - Settlement with the Raja of Kolhapur - Elphinstone and the Gaikwad affairs - Elphinstone's plan to isolate Trimbakji - The Peshwa prepares for revenge - Espionage system of Elphinstone - The Peshwa prepares for war - Elphinstone prepares for the war - The Treaty of Poona 13th June 1817 - Poona on the eve of War - Third - Anglo Maratha War.

IV ELPHINSTONE APPOINTED AS COMMISSIONER 154-188

Elphinstone's feeling on being appointed Commissioner - Territories put in charge of Elphinstone - Difficulties faced by Elphinstone - Reaction of the people - Western influence - Indian influence - Elphinstone's plan to follow a policy of moderation - Appointment of Collectors - Instructions to his collectors - The State of Satara and Elphinstone.

V SETTLEMENT MADE WITH THE MILITARY AND CIVIL SERVANTS 189-258

The purpose of maintenance of Maratha

Chapter **Pages**

servants - Jagirdars, Watandars - Attitudes of the Jagirdars during the war - Difficulties faced by Munro - Settlement made by Elphinstone - Nature of the agreement - Difficulties which Elphinstone had to face while making the Jagirdars come to an agreement - Appa Desai of Nipani - Appa Desai of Kittur - Settlement made with the Maratha Government Servants - Co-workers advice considered by Elphinstone - Instructions given to Mac' Donell - Elphinstone's jagir statement - Jagirdars - Mutsadhees - Hoozrat - Silledars - Dependants of Foreign State - Paga Chiefs or Cavalry chiefs - Killedar - Pensions granted to other chiefs - Inams and other Alienation of the Revenue - Implementation of Grants - The reaction of the supreme Government - Elphinstone's reply to the Governor General's remarks -

VI REVENUE SETTLEMENT 1818-1827 259-347

Land administration followed during the days of the Marathas - Collection of Revenue - reorganization of Revenue - Machinery by Elphinstone - The difficulties

Chapter Pages

faced by the Collectors - Demand for efficient revenue officers - The Collectors at work - A review of the first revenue collection - Further progress of revenue collection - Pringles revenue settlement - A brief review of the revenue settlement.

VII ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE 348-392

Administrative system of the Marathas - An Experiment with the Panchayat System - Code de Elphinstone - Elphinstone's Work of Codification - Elphinstone's achievements in the field of Judiciary.

VIII CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF ELPHINSTONE 393-445

Elphinstone's views on the introduction of Christainity - The purpose of the promotion of education - Elphinstone's plan of education - Establishment of the Hindu College at Pune - Promoting of further education - Elphinstone's literary interests - Elphinstone and Maratha history - Elphinstone's social reforms - Elphinstone and the Press - A brief review of Elphinstone's policies

Chapter Pages

IX EPILOGUE 446-471

BIBLIOGRAPHY 472-480

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The influence of Mountstuart Elphinstone on the conditions of life in Maharashtra in the first quarter of the nineteenth century need hardly be exaggerated. The study of political transformation of Maharashtra during this period would be incomplete without any reference to the work of Elphinstone in this region.

The term Maharashtra has been used in a limited sense. Its territorial limits are mainly confined to those areas which the British conquered from the Peshwa in the last Anglo-Maratha war in 1817-1818. Thus Pune, Satara, Ahmednagar, Khandesh and Southern Maratha Country form the jurisdiction of our study. An attempt has been made to study the emergence of Elphinstone as a man, a friend of the people and a loyal servant to the master, during his stay in Maharashtra.

Mountstuart Elphinstone's carrer coincided with the period when Burke's assault on Warren Hastings and on the East India Company evolved into conservatism, when imperial sentiment arose to reorganize and expand the empire, when a romantic image of India emerged and when the liberals, the humanitarians and the missionaries turned their attention to reforms in India. It was an age of the French Revolution, Napoleonic wars, postward distress and the increasing momentum of the industrial transformation of

Great Britain.

Along with the other factors which contributed directly or indirectly to the establishment of British political hegemony in India, the factor of leadership has often been stressed by the historians in modern time. They point out that Britain produced men of rare distinction like Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, Lord Hastings and other heroes and, if they had not existed the enterprise (Empire building), could not have succeeded. But it may also be pointed out that the British had also a great advantage in the ranks of secondary leaders, Munro, Elphinstone, Malcolm and Metcalfe who were not ordinary soldiers but were officers reacting to India, and, belonged to a class of liberal minded administrators.[1] These men proved to be not only practical administrators, but also serious students of Indian history, customs, languages and institutions. Their education at home and their rigourous training in India certainly produced a high level of competence which helped to mould their attitudes and action towards India. Of this group, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the subject of this study, was a scholar-statesman, for he had the power to analyse and express with clarity the principles which would guide the British Government in India.

Mountstuart Elphinstone completed the task of empire building in 1818, which had started in the 17th century, on the fringes of the Moghul Empire - by defeating the Marathas, the last independent power - the only one which could have opposed the British. All these British administrators made some contribution towards the downfall of the Marathas. Elphinstone being at the head organised and directed the operation. Munro conquered the Southern Maratha Country in the Karnatak which was then in the hands of the most powerful sardars of the Peshwa and who had a strong well trained army. Malcolm, who was in Central India in conjunction with Hislop, in connexion with the Pindari war, checked the activities of the Peshwa's Confederates - Shinde, Holkar and the Bhonsle, who were in possession of Central India. This prevented them from joining their forces with that of their master. While Metcalfe at this time was Resident at Delhi and kept informing Elphinstone about the political condition in north India and also whenever the Peshwa tried to carry on any negotiation with the northern rulers.

As soon as the war ended Malcolm remarked that, "The task of conquest was slight, in comparison what awaits us, the preservation of the empire acquired."[2] The age of expansionism was to be succeeded by that of enlightened administrative reforms. History proves that these officials had an insight to sense the historically inevitable collapse of the British empire in India. Metcalfe, emphasized the belief in the 'precariousness' of the British dominion.[3] Elphinstone,steeped in the classics, feared 'that the belief that our Indian Empire will not be long lived is reason and not prejudice.[4]

Malcolm, for all his soldierly optimism, considered 'that in an empire like that of India we are always in danger.'[5] While Munro considered, 'When a country falls under the dominion of a foreign power it is usually found to be the wisest plan to leave it in possession of its own laws and customs, and to endeavour rather to ameliarate than to abolish them ....'[6] They saw danger from foreign invasion, danger from a military mutiny and danger from a religious explosion. If none of these things happened the people might so far develop as to replace the British in control. 'This', said Elphinstone, 'would be the most desirable end of British rule', but it seemed 'at an immeasurable distance,'[7] and he resolved that he should contribute his mite to keep it off by great moderation in the settlement of the conquered land. Elphinstone realised that he had to perform a double task, firstly that of serving his own Government as a loyal servant and secondly, looking after the welfare of the natives as a just master.

Mountstuart Elphinstone belonged to the 'Liberal School'. He accepted the desirability of improvements and of the introduction of western ideas and values, but at the same time he was also convinced of the strength of the traditional institutions and of traditional feelings. Cautious innovation became his watchward. He looked to an eventual integration of the old and the new. Elphinstone concurred with what Malcolm said "Let us proceed on a course of gradual improvement, and when our rule ceases, as cease it must, (though probably at a remote period) as the natural consequence of our success in the diffusion of knowledge, we shall as a nation have the proud boast that we have preferred the civilisation to the continued subjection of India. When our power is gone, our name will be revered; for we shall leave a moral monument more noble and imperishable than the hand of man ever constructed.[28]

The present study limits its scope only to the administrative, social and educational reforms, undertaken by Elphinstone in Maharashtra. This region had its peculiar socio-religious customs and laws, flourished during the patronage of the great Hindu leaders like, Shivaji, Peshwa Mahadevrao, Nana Phadnavis and others. The problems facing the British administrators in Maharashtra were quite different from those confronting them in other parts of India. The Marathas had been ruling over the biggest territory for the longest time and therefore it was very difficult to reorganize the country. Again it may be pointed out in this context, that the urge and inspiration of reform and advancement of the great administrators like Munro, Elphinstone and others drew their substance or life force from the contemporary liberal, romantic thinking of their home land i.e. England. The gradual or evolutionary transformation which was taking place in England had its influence on the Company's administration in India. British thinking and attitudes towards India which historians have described as conservatism, imperialism, utilitarianism, liberalism and romanticism, undoubtedly contributed to the shaping of the social, economic, and administrative policies followed by the great British administrators in India. If Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellesly and other early leaders were said to be influenced by the economic and imperialistic thinking of contemporary England, the great administrators like Munro, Elphinstone and others in the later days, were no exception. In their reform and administrative policies one can notice that they reflected the images of great political and economic minds like Burke, Mill, Adam Smith, Ricardo and other eminent Philosophers of England of the time.

A detail analysis of British attitudes towards India of the time is not so relevant to the scope of the present study, but as the intellectual pressure or the gradual development of constructive public opinion in England undoubtedly had some far reaching effects on the formulation of liberal policies followed by the eminent administrators of India in later days. Therefore, it is essential to give a brief account of the prevailing attitudes, in the introduction; as Elphinstone was no exception. It may be broadly divided into three basic categories, namely, (a) Burke's philosophical conservatism, (b) the impulse towards westernization found in religious, humanetarian and liberal, leaders such as James Mill, Machenzie Holt, Bishop Herber and others, (c) the urge towards imperial greatness characteristic especially of Wellesley and other war heroes.[9]

In these three basic views lay conflicting conceptions of India. From the beginning the imperial thinkers interpreted India, her people, culture and her political institutions as decidedly inferior and they formulated policies in their manifold social and economic aspects, to maintain Britain's full supremacy in India.[10]

The rise of British power at the time of Clive and Hastings, according to the philosophical Conservatives, contributed only to misrule, political chaos and economic exploitation of India and her people.[11] Burke made Warren Hastings the symbol of corruption, oppressive taxation, burdensome wars[12] and economic exploitation and confusion. The criticism in the British parliament and outside, led to several parliamentary investigations of the working of the Company's servants in India. In other words, there was a growing political consciousness and awareness among the intellegensia in England; who maintained that the independence of the Company must be yielded to the supremacy of Parliament of England.

As a result the Regulating Act in 1773[13] and Pitts India Act in 1784[14] were passed by British Parliament, establishing a dual control over Indian Government which lasted till 1858. The Board of Control established under the Pitt's India Act had direct control over the matters of war and peace in India and obliged the company on many occasions, to accept its advice in formulating political policy. Through the Board of Control, the East India

Company was made responsible to British Parliament.

Thus to check the worst effect of imperialism, the philosophical conservatives like Edmund Burke, William Jones, William Robertson, formulated a Conservative theory of Indian society, culture and Government.[15] Burke[16] argued that the plunder of India was not that of a nation of savages, but of a "people for ages civilized and cultivated by all the arts of polished life, whilst we were yet in the woods."[17] Burke through his long speeches on Hastings impeachment and in Annual Register which represents his view point, paid high tributes to the best talents and the war heroes like Haider Ali, the Marathas and glorified the long cultural heritage of India and her people in eloquent words and expressions.[18] Burke defended strongly the Indian political organization, the village republics and her religious and social customs like caste, traditions etc.[19] In the same way, other conservative philosophers like Sir William Jones, and William Robertson had high appreciation of Indian civilization and insisted that India was a civilized land, subject to natural law and likely to contribute to the future development of civilization of the world at large. The Conservatives insisted on a policy of preserving India's cultural and political heritage as the only way of its future development and prosperity.[20]

The trend of Conservative thinking persisted for some time without receiving much public support in England as pointed out by Bearce, "The traditional literature and learning of India gave way to the predominance of Western science and thought.[21]

The growth of Imperial Sentiment

At the time of Burke, Jones and other philosophical conservatives an imperial attitude towards India began to emerge, as new avenues of employment in India opened and the British Public gradually came in direct contact with India with new kind of jobs and assignments as governors, civil officials, merchants, soldiers, and missionaries. The common people as pointed out by Bearce "lacked the capacity or the inclination to adopt the conservative view points."[22] Of course, after Burke, they considered India as a matter of national responsibility but they were not primarily interested like the conservative thinkers, in preserving Indian culture and Indian political heritage on permanent basis. Instead, considering their private advantages, gains, national interests and "the greatness of the Empire for its own sake, these Britons revealed their elemental conviction that British Power must be maintained in India."[23] This sentiment received wide support from different sections of British Society of the time. The aristocratic Parliament, the Pitt ministry, were concerned with India largely when national interests were affected. The East India Company servants, the governors, the officials, the mercantile class whose interests depended directly on the permanence of British Power in India, reflected by and large, a common imperial sentiment. It is interesting to note that even when Burke and his contemporaries were full of praise for the Indian constitution, they were not ready to reject the superiority of British Constitution. Burke maintained that the great day of Asia had gone and through science and natural philosophy Europe had risen to prominence in the world.[24] In the same way, William Jones said that the European superiority lay in ratiocination; while that of India in imagination. In fact Burke and his contemporary conservatives were interested how to wipe off the corruption and mismanagement in India and find a way to preserve the British Constitution. But the new imperialist groups, whose main concern was the pragmatic task of governing India and brighten their own economic prospect, only exploited Burke's philosophy to further their own material gain. It may be described as a philosophy of expediency i.e. if they found it is expedient to serve the best interest of their nation and enhance their personal gains through conservative philosophy they would uphold the ideal as a doctrine of resisting change injurious to their interest. In the same way they would reject conservative philosophy which stood for improvement and development of India from within. In fact, they saw conservatism as a doctrine of resisting change injurious to their material interests and repugnant to their prejudices and not as a philosophy of civilization, "This sort of expedient. British Conservatism, founded as it was on faulty knowledge, often meant promoting British interests or conserving British institution at the expense of India. Burkes had been diluted, and in the process only something of the culture and the constitution was conserved."[25]

As both British Empire and Commerce grew, Indian patronage became valuable, politically and financially and development of the Company's patronage proved the fact. Under Pitt's tutelage, East India Company assumed the image of a responsible public corporation which promoted British interest. The management of Company affairs was largely in the hands of its Directors and the patronage consisted of the Constitutional authority of the directors to recruit, train, promote and dismiss the civil and military officials in India. Commerce was the most important source of profit to the Company for the dividends and the responsibility of a good government was entrusted to them. Thus the highest contribution of the East India Company was the creation of a Civil Service which was, 'indoctrinated into a sense of imperial responsibility and ingrained with a sense of Britain's imperial greatness'.[26] In 1806, with the encouragement of home authorities, the East India Company established Haileybury College in England. The civil servants were to remain English in outlook and sentiment and were trained not to become Indianized and not to possess as much sympathy for India as some of their predecessors.

Thus a new kind of imperial spirit and sentiment was created among the civil servants, and they were encouraged to know and learn as much as possible about India and her people. Thus in England, a select group of political leaders and statesmen were trained who began to feel that 'the empire was a great political achievement and the British had an obligation to preserve it'.[*26A] In fact, if the imperial minded war heroes like Clive, Hastings laid the foundation stone of British Empire through some territorial gains, it was the British Civil Service which supplied the bricks and stones through its trained personnel to give the empire a permanent edifice. Thus a systematic attempt was made to create an ideology based on the convictions that the British were superior to Indians not only in arms but in political institutions and national character. The Indians as Warren Hastings described them, were weak in body and timid in spirit; their civilization was full of grave defects, their political and social institution, were full of injustice and anarchy. "Imperial sentiment, at its most enthusiastic involved the conviction that Britain was now showering on India the blessings of British liberty, British character and the British Constitution."[27] Thus there was a general conviction that the British power must be preserved in India and it was shared by all kinds of people in England: the aristocratic leaders, the East India Company, the mercantile groups, the religious groups, the economists, the humanitarian and the liberal thinkers who by and large developed a great admiration for the growing empire, although some major differences were noticeable in their imperial attitudes and reflections. As pointed out by Bearce, "Imperial attitudes were predominant though some what varied during the period from 1784-1826."[28]

Thus a new kind of imperial attitudes were articulated and a new band of second class leaders or professional men were trained in modern scientific knowledge and liberal education. They, in turn, created a general level of competence and effeciency which contributed to the permanency of British Empire in India.

Anglicization of India

The policy of anglicization of India followed from Cornwallis to Amherst (1786-1828) followed partly from Evangelistic philosophy of reform and education and partly from the East India Company's motives of expediency viz. furthering its trade interest in India.[29] Cornwallis's measures of anglicization of Indian administration reflected in his reform of land tenures and land revenues. (Zamindari System in Bengal). "He applied aristocratic British ideas to India to solve the problem" wrote Stoke[30] Cornwallis's judicial and political arrangements in India were another example of anglicization of Indian administration. Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) who "envisaged himself in the glorious role of a proconsul, reminiscent of the architects of the ancient Roman Empire", prosecuted wars of expansions on a grand scale.[31] Wellesley's outward imperial display in fact, "surpassed the ancient Romans in war and administration."[32] In fact, Wellesley's imperial grandiloquence even brought criticisms from England and India. The British people fully supported expansion in India and approved the substance of the policy but did not approve the display of imperial greatness.[33] The resistance to Wellesley's policy came somewhat surprisingly from the brilliant group of subordinates who served him from Munro, Malcolm, Elphinstone and Metcafe and out of their study a new conscious alternative to an englicized form of administration. These men deserve a close study because they were the dominant school in the formulation of Indian policy when liberalism, first began to exercise an influence on internal administration of India after 1818. Their great work was in various forms of reform and improvement to counter the spirit of Cornwallis's system. In fact, this group to which Elphinstone belonged, gave British imperialism those humanetarian overtones which persisted almost for the duration of the Indian Empire. To secure the peasant in the possession of his land, to rule him through a paternal and simple government and to avoid all artificiality of a sophisticated European form of rule - originated primarily from the liberal and humanetarian attitudes that were prevailing at the time. The Christian reform ideal through education, and elevation of human mind, the utilitarian gospel of "greatest good of the greatest number", the laissez - faire or "free trade" movement glorified by new mercantile group, Ricardo's theory of land reform and the Romantic movement by and large made a supplementary contribution to the general emergence of the new urge for reform and improvement and a sense of British honour and responsibility towards India. But as pointed out by Bearce, "Western superiority and the love of military glory were the stimulus not the need and sentiments of India." All the reform movements originated from contemporary, "British aspirations to transform Great Britain into a nation of Industrial progress."[34] The liberal and humanatarian aspect of British Imperialism in later days was essentially a Western product and their image of India followed a preconceived romantic pattern. The Christian missionary impulse led by Bishop Heber was characterised by three dominant ideals (i) intensive cultivation of individualism (ii) Elimination or elevation of human mind and soul, (iii) its conviction that this required an educational process. The missionaries urged reform through education.[35] On the other hand the utilitarian thinkers such as Jeremy Bentham, Thomas Paine etc. who stood for, "the greatest good of the greatest numbers" urged reform through legislation. They believed that the primary influence determining human character was legislation and his commands viz. the form of government and the laws.

To James Mill,[36] the form of government and laws viz. political education was more important than any kind of education such as domestic education and social education. "The History of British India" written by James Mill eloquently emphasized on improved legal system, reformed parliament and free trade. In fact 'free trade movement became the standard view point.'[37] In short it can be said that the utilitarians, although they fundamentally differed from the cause and ideal expounded by the Evangilical group and followed only a policy of expediency for furthering their material gains in India, shared certain common feelings with the Evanglicals, viz. (a) a great destest and disrespect for India's socio-religious traditions, culture and its law and government (b) both Evanglicals and utilitarian were the great exponents of individualism and tried to save the individual in India from the tyranny of nobles, priests and caste, (c) both believed that knowledge alone could help Indians to attain that goal, (d) both believed that English system of law and government with its ideal of justice and order could solve peculiar problems of India and end political and social tyranny under which India was suffering.[38]

Mill's Utiliterian View Point Regarding India

James Mill was one of the first coherent spokesmen of the utiliterian movement. He and his followers began agitating to transform India according to utiliterian notions. Mill was not only critical of society, government and culture in Hindu and Muslim India, but also of British rule that was gradually setting in. He scrutinized the measures of Parliament, Company and the Governors, and all those who were closely connected with India. Mill criticized that these measures were chiefly due to ignorance.[39] Just as Burke made Warren Hastings the target of his philosophical criticism, in the same way Mill made Wellesley his target. He pointed out that Wellesley's statesmanship was based on this ignorance. Wellesley did not know the Indian languages - though he had made a tour of India he could not learn anything. As he could not communicate with the people, he lived under the wrong impression that all was well in India. Mill also cited Henry Dundas, the President of the Board of Control as an example, who at the time of the renewal of the Company's charter in 1793, informed the ignorant House of Commons that India was well- governed and prosperous, producing a fountain of wealth for Britain. Though in reality neither the Government nor the condition of the people was good.

Mill brought to the notice of the British officials in India certain problems, and even suggested certain ways of solving them. The most serious one faced by India was 'poverty and ignorance' - which could only be solved if liberal measures were adopted to transform India. It was also suggested that the Government should tax as lightly as possible for the defence of the country and the administration of justice. Mill was of the opinion that British law and legal system should not be introduced in India.

Good administration could be attained only by adopting Indian institutions to the needs of the people and introducing European principles into their operation. But it was pointed out that the education of the Indians was a necessity because without their co-operation it would be impossible for the British to run the administration of the country. Mill further added that India's future lay in westernization.[40]

Elphinstone, like his contemporaries, was sensitive to the needs and attitudes of his age. His ideas, policies and actions emerge as a dynamic synthesis of these various British attitudes which were forming in and interacting upon the British mind.

All work so far done on Mountstuart Elphinstone is in a narrative form. Sir T.E. Colebrooke has published two volumes of the biography of Elphinstone. He no doubt gives the important notes from Mountstuart Elphinstone's daries which give us a clear picture of the man Elphinstone. J.S. Cotton's work, too, gives a narration of Elphinstone mainly based on Colebrooke and Elphinstone's Report on ‘the territories conquered from the Peshwa', - 1819, while Prof. R.D. Choksey's book also is more of a biography of Elphinstone. Prof. K. Ballhatchet so far has been the only one who gives an analytical account of Elphinstone's policies - but he also has omitted cut some aspect of his career and personality. Prof. Ballhatchet only gives a very brief account of Elphinstone's work as Resident - therefore Elphinstone's imperialistic out look has been not been studied in detail. Elphinstone's role in the condification of law - which was first of its kind in Maharashtra - has not been discussed though the numbers of the regulation which came into force have been mentioned. He only gives a brief account of revenue settlement which was Elphinstone's main concern. His discussion of the settlement of Jagirdars and civil servants is not full. He deals only with the Southern Jagirdars. Again he has completely overlooked Elphinstone's attitude towards the freedom of the press. He has mainly taken into consideration the utilitarian aspect of Elphinstone's personality and only mentions that he was of aristocratic birth and a conservative at heart. In fact a through study of Elphinstone would reveal that he was more of a conservative than a utilitarian. Therefore, in the present thesis all the aspects of Elphinstone's work which have so far not been attended to have been considered.

Efforts have been made in the present study to bring out the entire work of Mountstuart Elphinstone in its proper historical perspective. The forces that led to the downfall of the Maratha power in the western India and the role played by Elphinstone in initiating the British imperialistic policy in India during the third Anglo-Maratha war are discussed here. At the end of the war Elphinstone was made sole commissioner of the Deccan, in charge of organising the former Maratha territory under British administration. The various problems he had to face while initiating new experiments of several socio-economic and political reform policies in Western India are discussed here. His achievements in this field earned him the post of Governor of Bombay Presidency, where he continued on a larger scale, the work he had begun in the Deccan.

The historical material that has been used in the present study belongs mainly to the category of primary source material. The secondary sources have been used where necessary.

Official and non-official documents, papers, journals deposited in the state archives at Pune, Bombay and Delhi have been consulted. The Deccan Commissioner's Files in the Pune Alienation Office contain valuable material for the story of early phase of British rule in Maharashtra. The dairies of Political, Revenue and Judicial Departments of the Bombay Government deposited in the Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay, contain valuable material relating to the policies which were initiated by the British Government during the early decades of the nineteenth century in Maharashtra. The Files of the Foreign Department in the National Archives, New Delhi, have been used for determining the policies and attitudes of the Supreme Government during the third Anglo-Maratha war 1817-1818. Besides these primary sources the European Manuscript copies from the India Office Literary, London; preserved in the Department of History, University of Poona, have been extensively used. They consist of (1) Elphinstone's personal letters, despatches, Reports etc. (2) Official and personal letters written by his co-workers, Chaplin, Robertson, Pottinger, Grant and Briggs; (3) and letters from his friends such as Strachey, Munro, and even from many natives. These documents and personal letters make the present thesis more credible.

The present study has been divided into nine chapters :

Chapter I-Introduction

It briefly describes the peculiar traits in British thinking and attitudes towards India during Elphinstone's time, which is often mentioned by historians as the Romantic age of English empire building history. It also shows how Elphinstone and his contempories Munro, Malcolm and Metcalfe were influenced by British attitudes, Conservatism, imperialism and liberalism in England and India. Their aim was to synthesise all these attitudes which would help Britain to retain its political power in India.

Chapter II - Background of Elphinstone's Career in India

It deals with Elphinstone's family background and political conditions prevailing in India in general and Maharashtra in particular. It also briefly describes Elphinstone's Pre-Resident days in Maharashtra (1801-1808), which forms the formative period of his life.

Chapter III - Elphinstone as Resident (1811-1817)

This was a period fraught with important incidents in which Elphinstone played a leading role. Those events were not only important to his personal career but were also of great historical significance : (1) Settlement between the Peshwa and the Southern Jagirdars, leading to the treaty of Pandharpur. (2) The murder of Gangadhar Shastri leading to the third Anglo-Maratha War 1817-1818.

Chapter IV - Elphinstone as Commissioner 1817-1819

It shows that Elphinstone did not aim at disturbing the existing Maratha System while introducing the British rule. He believed that no other course would be decent, congenial, or successful.

Chapter V - Settlement made with the Military and Civil Servants

Elphinstone wanted to protect the interests of all servants civil and military of the former government. He examined the case of each individual and decided each case on its own merit.

Chapter VI - Revenue Settlement

An analysis of the Revenue settlement made by Elphinstone has been attempted in this chapter.

Chapter VII - Judicial Settlement

It deals with the judicial settlement of Elphinstone which differed much from the system adopted by the British in the north. He was very much influenced by the Panchayats of Maharashtra. He therefore, tried to preserve it as far as possible.

Chapter VIII - Cultural Activities of Elphinstone

An analysis of the educational policy of Elphinstone and the various reforms he introduced in Maharashtra during the period of his office as Governor. A brief review of his literary activities and his interest in historical research has also been dealt with in this chapter.

Chapter IX - Epilogue

This chapter estimates the achievements and failures of Elphinstone in Maharashtra.

NOTES

1. Spear, P. The Oxford History of Modern India, 1740-1947, Oxford, 1965, p.3.
2. Malcolm, Sir J. Political History of India from 1785-1823, Vol. II, London, 1826. p.64.
3. Spear, P. op.cit. p.134.
4. Ibid.
5. Colebrooke T.E. 'Life of The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone', London, 1884, Vol. II, p.95.
6. Spear P. op.cit. p.134.
7. Colebrooke T.E. op.cit. Vol. II, p.42.
8. Malcolm, Sir J. Memoir of Central India, Vol. II, London 1823, p.304.
9. Mudford, P. Birds of a Different Plumage (A Study of British-Indian Relations from Akbar to Curzon), London, 1974, pp. 81-82.
10. Bearce G.D. British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858, Oxford, 1961, p.297.
11. Robert P.E. History of British India, 3rd edn. 1952. p.159. Clives Double Government seperated power from responsibility.
12. Bearce G.D. op.cit. p.10.
    The Bombay Government committed a blunder by interfering in the internal affairs of the Marathas who were at that time, the greatest powers in India. There were two claimants of the office of the Peshwa.

The British decided to help one of them and thus began the first Anglo-Maratha War. The British were defeated. The Treaty of Salbye was signed by which the British were forbidden not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Country (Maharashtra).

13. Robert P.E. op.cit. p.182.
The Regulating Act 1773 - by which the Directors were to lay before the Treasury all correspondence from India dealing with the revenue, and before a Secretary of State every thing dealing with civil or military affairs and Government. The Regulating Act was a half measure and disastrously vague in many points.

14. Ibid pp.214-215. Pitts India Act of 1784 - by which trained military and civil officials were to be sent to India and a Board of Control was established.

15. Bearce G.D. op.cit. p.14.

16. Edmund Burke was a political philosopher who entered Parliament in 1759 at a time when English political life was distorted by faction, and the struggle for power between George III and his ministers. Burke was a man of principle and causes, which he pursued from a deep emotional as well as intellectual conviction and his public life whether on behalf of the people in India or against the revolution in France reflects his dedication to what he saw as great just and honourable. In particular his

speeches on Fox's East, India Bill, the Nawab of Arcot's debts, and the impeachment of Warren Hastings remain classic examples of an appeal to principle through a massive mastery of fact.

17. Mudford P. op.cit. p.95.
18. Bearce G.D. op.cit. p.15.
19. Ibid, p.16.
20. Ibid, pp. 21-20.
21. Ibid, pp.32-33.
22. Ibid, p.34.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid, p.17.
25. Ibid, p.28.
26. Ibid, p.38.
26A. Ibid, p.40.
27. Ibid, p.41.
28. Ibid, p.42.
29. Stokes, E. The English Utilitarians and India, Oxford, 1959, pp.3-4.
30. Ibid, p.5.
31. Bearce G.D. op.cit. p.46.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid, p.48.
34. Ibid, p.300.
35. Heber, R. Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India Calcutta to Bombay 1824-1825, Vol. I, London 1828. pp.48-49.

36. James Mill came to London in 1802 in search of literary, employment, he became an~~d~~ editor of the literary Journal in the same year, and four years afterwards began his History of India. He made his name through articles written for the Edinburg Review between 1808 and 1813. After the publication of his history in 1818, he was appointed to a place in India House, and by 1830 had risen to be examiner of India Correspondence.

37. Bearce G.D. op.cit. p.303.

38. Stockes E. op.cit. p.54.

39. Bearce G.D. op.cit. p.75.

40. Ibid, pp.76-77.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF ELPHINSTONE'S CAREER IN INDIA

In the last forty years of the eighteenth century, attitudes towards India among the English Community began to be formed not merely on subjective impressions and prejudices, but on foundations of facts, that were themselves the results of sustained and serious inquiry. An advancement of knowledge about India's antiquity placed its present decline in a new perspective. At the same time it caused men to consider the nature of the English responsibility to the country from which their wealth was being derived. One such man was Mountstuart Elphinstone, the subject of this study, who played a unique role in working out some of the most effective measures for the consolidation of British imperial rule in Western India.

For the understanding of this problem it is essential to know about his family background - which greatly influenced him and was reflected through his actions.

Elphinstone's Family Background

Mountstuart Elphinstone was born in the Scottish aristocracy of the late eighteenth century England. The Castle or Tower of Elphinstones in England still bears the pride of the clan. Alexander Elphinstone was created 1st Lord Elphinstone by King James the fourth of Scotland in the year 1509.[1] The history of the family shows a unique and heroic record of activity in the service of its country. Among them were Mountstuart's uncles, Admiral George Keith and William Fullerton. The latter stands out as one of the most prominent members of the Elphinstone family. He began life as a seaman, where he distinguished himself and amassed a large fortune. As his experience ripened his fortune rose. He was in the service of the East India Company for seventy years, and served as the Chairman of the Court of Directors from 1804-1826, and retired at the age of eightyfive. It was he who did much for the members of the Elphinstone family, who were in the service of the East India Company. Mountstuart Elphinstone too, was grateful to uncle William. "None of the considerations which I have just been stating at any time diminish my gratitude to my uncle William for putting me in a situation where it was within my own reach to make a certain and ample fortune."[2]

His other uncle Keith - one of the most noticeable and stately figures; had become a famous naval commander and took part in the most stirring events of his times and rose to become an Admiral. He had to his credit several sea battles wherein he was commended for his bravery and heroism. In recognition of his services to the nation, 'the freedom of the City of London' was conferred upon him and he was created a peer of the United Kingdom.[3] In 1812 he had become the Commander of the Channel Fleet and to his care Emperor Napolean was committed before latter's exile to St. Helena. This was his last act before his retirement from the Royal Navy. On 14th May 1814, Lord Keith was made a Viscount.

Mountstuart Elphinstone's father was the eleventh Baron Elphinstone. He had four sons and four daughters. On his death he left them in impecunious circumstances which spured them on the hard road to success. Mountstuart's eldest brother, John lived during the very stirring times of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era, took to the profession of a soldier. He rose very rapidly in his military career. In 1806 he was elected, like his father, a representative Peer and took his seat in the House of Lords. He also became Lord-Lieutenant for the County of Dumbarton. Charles Elphinstone was the second brother. Like the elder brother John, he too rose rapidly in his profession and by 1812 was a Rear-Admiral. In recognition of his services he was made Governor of Greenwich Hospital. He became a member of the Parliament for Sterling in 1802 and was re-elected in 1806.

The third brother James Ruthren, born in 1776, entered the civil services of the East India Company and arrived at Calcutta in 1791, four years earlier to Mountstuart. He served the Company in many parts of India. Broken in health he died on the island of St. Helena, where he was compelled, due to extreme weakness, to break his voyage home. A monument was subsequently erected in his memory by Mountstuart.

Mountstuart had four sisters : Anne Stuart, Clementina Fleming, Elizabeth Mackenzie and Keith. The youngest sister Keith, was married to David Erskine of Cardross Perthshire. While the three elders remained unmarried. A perusal of the letters exchanged between the brothers and sisters reveals a well-knit family where affection and attachment dominated.

Mountstuart Elphinstone was born on October 6, 1779 and was the fourth and the youngest son. Mountstuart, like his ancestors and relatives, had all the traits of aristocratic pride and heritage. Like his relatives he too was fond of military adventure and wanted to become a soldier from his boyhood days.[4] And yet his soldier-like qualities formed only one aspect of a many sided character. Elphinstone was a self-made man. He was essentially a man both of thought as well as action.[5] His love of letters and his thirst for knowledge were intense. He studied at Edinburgh High School and Dr. Thompson's Academy at Kensington. ~~As~~ The seeds of his education which were sown here, he continued so to develope heroically throughout his life. A prodigious reader, he consumed while in India, the Latin and Greek classics, works in French, Italian, Persian, and Indian languages; history, geography, poetry, and novels "innumerable". His journals are a mirror to his life. They truly portray his innermost thoughts and reveal him as a man of refined culture and highly emotional nature. His letters to his mother reveal his deep attachment for his family especially for his sisters.[6]

Sir T. E. Colebrooke who took up the responsibility of writing his biography described Elphinstone as, "the amiable and refine historian and statesman of India and his portrait which is a water-colour .... is one of the most attractive in the Elphinstone collection."[7] That Elphinstone was handsome and attractive and possessed a very charming personality is borne out by his contemporaries both English and Indian. The qualities of a good leader were inherent in his character and he was always the leader of his companions in his tender age.[8]

While a child Mountstuart was fond of paying visits to the French soldiers who were kept in the prison at Edinburgh - where the Elphinstones were staying. Those were extraordinary times and the events were likely to capture, especially the minds of the young, and Elphinstone's imagination may have fallen a victim to the tales of the Revolution.[9] From youth he seems to have developed, consciously or unconsciously, a liking for change and progressive ideas and the qualities of a great statesman, who was destined to serve as an ideal link between the Eastern and Western cultural worlds. Elphinstone's uncle, Keith, recommended his name to serve the East India Company in Bengal,[10] along with his cousins Adam and Abercombie.

In joining the East India Company's service he was joining one where egalitarianism in recruitment was tempered by patronage and not qualification, ~~however~~ though, surprisingly sometime open to talent. As the contemporary historian, Sir John Kaye, ~~meant~~ said when he described the nineteenth century service ~~was~~ as 'the monarchy of the middle classes'. The attractions were, 'high pay, at least twice as high', said one Victorian critic, as that paid for, 'educated labour in any other country and the opportunities of great authority, so firmly~~'[11]~~ withheld'[11] in the United Kingdom. Such at any rate were India's attractions; the disadvantages tended to become plainer after arrival.

Mountstuart Elphinstone sailed for India in the year 1795 at the age of 16. India was to be his home for the next 32 years. His other contemporary Munro lived for 27 years on his first duty and Metcalfe for 38 years without leaving India. But, what seems austere, even for those days, was that young Elphinstone was sent off direct from his Kensington School without a farewell leave. "The worst of all", he wrote to his mother, "is that I will not be able to return to Scotland for want of time, and so have no possibility of seeing you and my sisters. If that were possible (which it is not) I would like it of all things."[12]

Elphinstone left his country at a time when England was progressing intellectually. At the same time it was also an age of adventurism, romanticism, colonial ideas, trade interests, industrial revolution. The different ideologies came in conflict with each other and one finds those conflicts reflected in the great minds of the age. Elphinstone being born in this age, was no exception as we have already noted in the previous chapter. It is also essential to know something about the prevailing conditions in India and how Elphinstone prepared himself for the task of establishing British authority in India.

Political Scene in India in General and that of the Land of the Marathas in Particular on the Eve of Elphinstone's Arrival

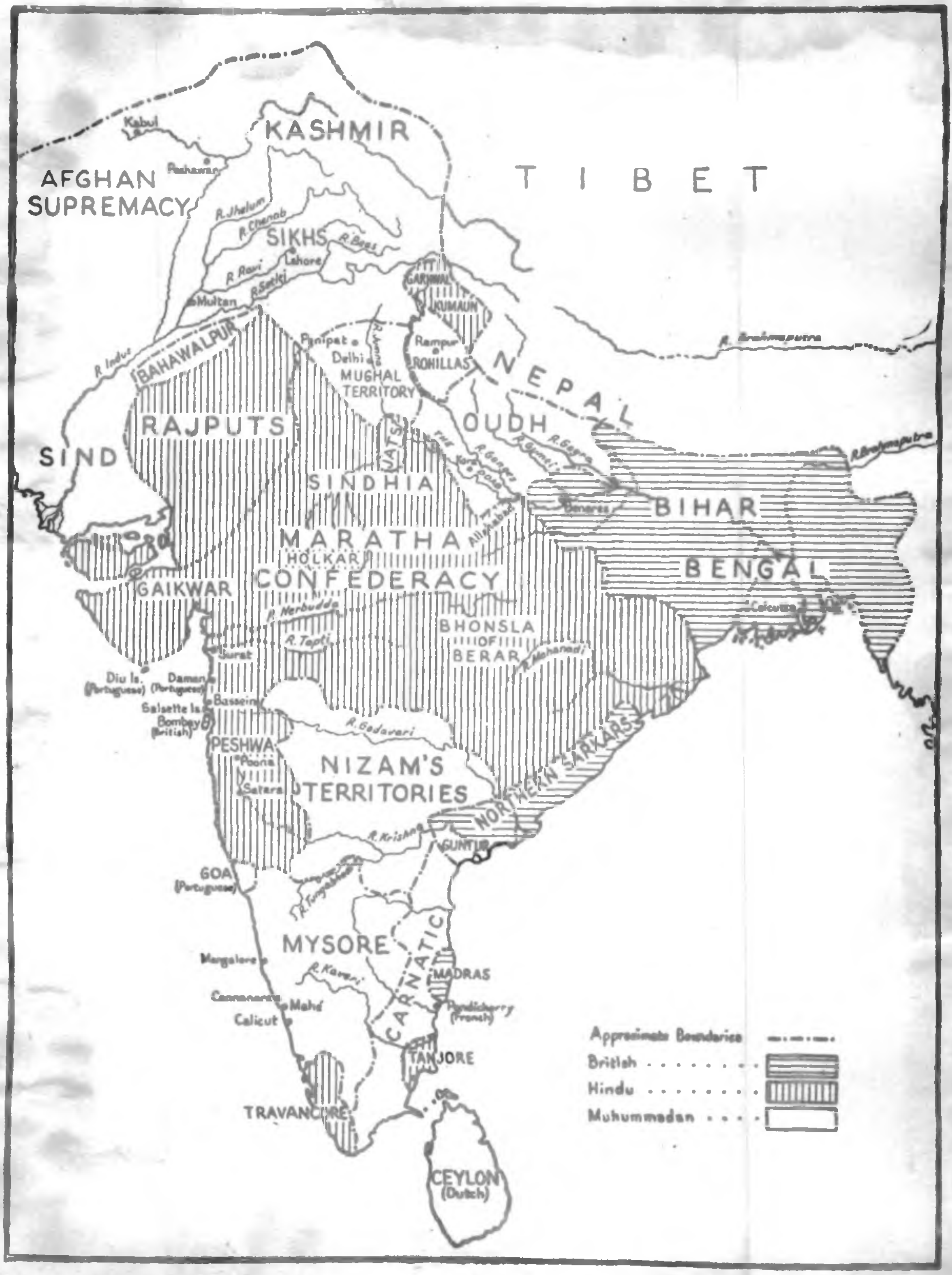
The later part of the eighteenth century witnessed several unpredictable changes in the political scene of India when Elphinstone was about to set his foot on the soil of the country. The process of political disintegration of India in general and of the Maratha Confederacy in particular had already been set in motion. Although the British were wedded to a policy of neutrality or non-intervention by Pitt's India Act of 1784, in the affairs of the Indian powers,[13] in actual practice they were availing every opportunity like the French, to intervene in the internal politics and to reap a good political harvest.

The map given on the opposite page shows the territories possessed by the various rulers of India.

North

The feeble descendant of the Emperor of Delhi was now a homeless wanderer, but was still recognised as the titular Sovereign of India. All the kings and chiefs in this vast continent still owed nominal allegiance to him; they all pretended to derive from him their power in their respective

INDIA - 1795.



KASHMIR
Kabul
Peshawar
AFGHAN SUPREMACY
T I B E T
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
SIKHS
R. Beas
R. Ravi
Lahore
R. Satlej
Multan
GARHWAL
KUMAUN
R. Indus
BAHAWALPUR
Panipat
Delhi
R. Jumna
MUGHAL TERRITORY
Rampur
ROHILLAS
NEPAL
R. Brahmaputra
RAJPUTS
SIND
JATS
OUDH
R. Ganges
R. Gumti
R. Gogra
SINDHIA
Allahabad
Benares
BIHAR
MARATHA CONFEDERACY
HOLKAR
BENGAL
GAIKWAR
Calcutta
R. Nerbudda
R. Tapti
BHONSLA OF BERAR
R. Mahanadi
Surat
Diu Is. (Portuguese)
Daman (Portuguese)
Bassein
Salsette Is.
Bombay (British)
R. Godavari
PESHWA
Poona
Satara
NIZAM'S TERRITORIES
NORTHERN SARKARS
R. Krishna
GUNTUR
GOA (Portuguese)
R. Tungabhadra
MYSORE
CARNATIC
Mangalore
R. Kaveri
MADRAS
Cannanore
Mahé
Calicut
Pondicherry (French)
TANJORE
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON (Dutch)
Approximate Boundaries
British
Hindu
Muhummadan

kingdoms and provinces but in reality they had acquired it by the force of arms. After 1772 the political hegemony of North India had passed into the hands of the Maratha Chief Mahadji Shinde.

The Marathas

At this time the Marathas were acknowledged as the most powerful rulers in India. The Marathas occupied the central part of the Indian peninsula, with its bounderies extending from Delhi in the North to Tungabhadra in the South and from Cambay in the West to the banks of the Ganges in East. It was ideally situated for receiving and assimilating influences from the Northern as well as Southern parts of India. The Maratha Power which had emerged only in the 17th century, played a distinguished role in the subsequent period of Indian history.

The Marathas had rapidly leapt into political prominence with the founding of the Maratha State by Shivaji, in the later half of the 17th century. In the third decade of the 17th century the Maratha name was unknown to the world outside, but later on it became a terror to the rulers of the land. In the year 1719 Balaji Vishwanath entered Delhi in the train of Syed Hussain Ali, and his grandsons became arbiters of the fate of the Mughal Empire. The rapid expansion of their empire was once arrested by their defeat at Panipat (1761) but the Marathas quickly recovered from the shock and Mahadji Shinde restored Maratha prestige in

Hindustan. In 1794 they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nizam at Kharda. The English had to face these Marathas to establish their political and commercial supremacy.

South

In the South were the Kingdoms of the Nizam and Tipu Sultan. After the Marathas, Tipu was the most powerful independent ruler in India. He strongly opposed the British power which was steadily rising in the North and was threatening to spread all over India. To prevent this he tried to form alliances with the native rulers and even tried to secure help from Napoleon. Tipu's army was being trained by French Commanders.

Territories occupied by the Europeans in India

The French had a settlement at Pondicherry, South of Madras and another in Bengal at Chandernagar and Mahe. The Portuguese were in possession of Goa.

The Dutch were trading at Chinsura, Negapatam and Danish Tranquebar but without any political significance.

The English - Of all these the English were the most firmly established. The three Presidency towns, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta had become growing centres of British influence and under men like Clive, Warren Hastings, and Cornwallis the English possession had assumed considerable dimensions. In the South a life and death struggle between the English and the French had ended with a total defeat of the latter. Bankot, on the south of Bombay, and 10 villages were ceded by the Peshwa to the English in 1756. The Northern Sarkar of Condapilly, Ellore, Rajamahondri, and Chicacole - were taken from the French and their acquisition confirmed by the imperial grant from Shah Alam in 1764. In 1765 the district of Chengalpat was ceded to the English by the Nawab of Carnatic. In the same year Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were granted by Shah Alam II to the British. In 1775 the district of Benares, including Chunder and Ghazipur were handed over to them by Nawab Shirj-ud-Daulah of Oudh. In the West, Vasai had been conquered and the island of Sashti acquired. In 1792 the provinces of Baramahal, Dindigul and Malabar were acquired through the treaty of Seringapatnam, thereby reducing the territories of Tipu considerably.

The Nawab Vazir of Avadh was an ally of the English and the Nawab of Arcot was under their protection.

Once the English were firmly established in the East they set their sights on the West, a richer land occupied by the Marathas and which had more natural harbours.

Importance of Maharashtra to the British

In the wake of the Industrial Revolution in England, a marked change took place in the affairs of the Company in India. The capital which was used to conquer political power in England in the early 19th century was now directed to conquer the vast Indian market for British industry.

British rulers in India mainly aimed at making India a supplier of raw materials for British industries and a consumer of their manufactured goods.

Bengal and Gujarat were the two richest provinces of India - rich in resources, fertility and beauty. Silk, the product of Bengal was manufactured in Gujarat, while cotton, the product of Gujarat was manufactured in Bengal.[14] As Bengal had already come under the British it gave their traders a better political and economic stability. The traders of the West also wanted the Bombay Government to acquire similar advantages in the West to facilitate export of cotton to England.

The Western coast consisted of a chain of natural harbours right from Surat to Malvan. With the exception of Bombay all the other ports were in the possession of the Marathas. Bombay was of great importance to the British as it was a ship building area and ships coming from East and West stopped here for refueling and repairing. The British were therefore naturally anxious to protect this island as it was surrounded by seven small islands of which Vasai and Sashti were most important, and they were under the control of the Marathas. British feared that the Marathas being a hardy race of warriors could unite themselves to stir up trouble in their island just as the Siddhis had done to hinder British trade in 1690. Besides, at this time the Anglo-French rivalry in Europe was giving rise to internal troubles in India also. The Marathas were threatening

British authority in India. Henry Dundas the Director of the Board of Control in 1788 informed the government that if British trade had to flourish in India, it was necessary for them to have an alliance with the Marathas. For he was of the opinion that the resulting combination of British infantry and Maratha Cavalry was, "all that is wanting to make our power complete."[15] The British also felt that such an alliance would also stop the Marathas from entering into an alliance with the French.

So far the Company had only succeeded in maintaining commercial relations with the Maratha State. In July 1739 the Company signed a commercial treaty with the Peshwa. Another trade agreement was concluded in 1756 between the two parties. The third and the fourth commercial treaties were signed in the years 1761 and 1782 respectively.[16] But the Company had not yet succeeded in acquiring any territories in Maharashtra. Before the death of Peshwa Madhav Rao a diplomatic mission under Thomas Mostyn was sent to Pune; to secure 'cession of the islands of Sashti and Vasai which added so much to the security and value of Bombay'. But at this time it did not materialise, as the Peshwa in power, a shrewed man, realised their motives and warned his people to be aware of the English, who had their hungry eyes on Maharashtra.

But the British did not give up hopes and the possession of Sashti and Vasai became a fixed objective of their policy in Western India.

In 1774 the British found the opportunity they were waiting for, as the central authority became weak, leading to internal dissensions in the Maratha State.[17] The British immediately attacked the fort of Sashti and captured it under the pretext that the Portuguese were going to capture it. The fort of Kuralya was also taken. They went a step further and concluded a treaty at Surat (March 1775) with the fugitive Raghunath Rao, promising him military assistance in return for the cession of Sashti and Vasai.[18]

The loss of Sashti was a great blow to the Maratha prestige. They were quick to realise that the only way left, for preventing the English from proceeding further with their military activities was by putting an economic blockade on Surat.[19] Consequently instructions were issued to various officers of the State to help the Peshwa in the blockade.[20] No fuel or provision was to be sold to the English.[21] The available English records show, that the economic blockade of Surat alone was finally able to thwart the English designs on the west coast and to bring them to agree to more friendly relations with the Maratha State.[22] Col. Upton was sent to negotiate a treaty of peace and friendship with the Pune Government. In March 1776 the treaty of Surat was substituted by the Treaty of Purandhar by which the Company agreed to renounce the cause of Raghunathrao but was allowed to retain Sashti. However, the status quo was not restored and Anglo-Maratha relations did not improve. In 1777 the Company was once again involved in an armed clash with the Peshwa. The disasterous expedition in Bor Ghat culminating in the Wadgaon agreement (1777) damaged the British prestige in Western India. The Wadgaon agreement was repudiated by the Calcutta government and hostilities were resumed. Col. Goddard came to the rescue of the Bombay Government. He prosecuted the war with greater determination and doggedness. But the military campaigns did not lead to any decisive results and both the parties concluded a treaty at Salbai in 1782 - which was humiliating to the British who had to surrender both Raghunathrao and Vasai to the Marathas.[23]

It was the traditional policy of the British to resort to diplomacy when other means failed. The British requested the Pune Court to accept a British Resident. Fortunately for them Nana Fadnavis too with all his anti-British feelings, accepted the proposal. Sir Charles Malet was appointed Resident at Pune on 3rd March 1786. He lived in Pune for full eleven years, and left it after Baji Rao II ~~II~~ had been installed as Peshwa in December 1796 - the year Mountstuart Elphinstone arrived in India.[24]

Elphinstone's First Appointment in India

Elphinstone got his first appointment at Benares - which was then the frontier station towards the North-West and an important centre of political affairs. He was appointed as an Assistant to the Registrar, Edward Strachey, and under the judge Magistrate, Samuel Davis.[25] That Elphinstone became very fond of the latter can be seen from his letter to his mother, "I am, as I wrote before, under a Mr. Davis, whom I liked well at first and who improves on acquaintance."[26] Elphinstone's natural ability to discern, and to appreciate, the quality of a society with deep-rooted traditions was heightened by the training he received from men like Samuel Davis. Davis was his mentor in the Indian Civil Service, and was a distinguished scholar of Sanskrit, who compiled the first scientific account of the astronomy of classical India.[27] What Elphinstone did during his stay in Benares is not known, but he took a special liking for Sanskrit and started studying it. In 1801 he was sent to the college at Fort William, which was started by Wellesley in 1800 to train and educate civil servants. But his stay there was very short, because soon on January 23, 1801, he received his first appointment, as 'assistant to the Resident of Poona.'[28]

Elphinstone's Pre-Resident Period 1801-1808

Mountstuart Elphinstone had his first glimpse of Western India in 1801, from whence started the period of his diplomatic career. He was fortunate to be present during the occurance of important events, such as the signing of the Treaty of Vasai 1803, the battles of Asai and Adgaon and the siege of Gavilgad etc., which took place in Western India. It gave him an opportunity to get first hand knowledge of the Maratha people and their land; whose destiny he was to shape in years to come.

Elphinstone's Journey to Pune

On the 19th March 1801 Elphinstone and his friend Strachey left Calcutta for Pune. They had to cover a long journey of 800 miles. The journey was either on horse, camel or on elephant.[29]

Elphinstone's personal record of journey to Pune provides intelligent observations of the land and people of those times i.e. the geography of the land, the court and nobility, the common people in general. It also eloquently reveals the romantic and youthful mind of Mountstuart. Although in 1801 Elphinstone was only 22 years old, he was well acquainted with the works of Machiavellis history, Bacon's famous essays, Berkeley's writings, Milton etc. including a history of the Eastern World.[30] All this increased his knowledge of world History, literature and culture. This widened his outlook, matured him and enabled him to take important decisions later in his life as a diplomat and administrator on behalf of the British Government.

Elphinstone's diary provides us with ample information about the great historical events that took place at the court of the Nizam in Hyderabad as well as about the setting glories of the Maratha power.[31] Elphinstone was gifted with the power of writing and describing things in their proper perspective and history. Like his uncles he was imbued with the great spirit of adventure and enthusiasm for learning about unknown lands and the people living there. Hence he continued his travels despite ill health, unfamiliar or hostile weather and exhaustion and fatigue. Elphinstone's journals also show his unending interest in the political and economic affairs of India and the East India Company, his passionate wish to serve his country to the best of his abilities; as he says, "I will try to observe the produce of the country, the sorts of grain, trees etc., with its principal people, the Government, the mode of collecting revenue and administrating justice, the effects of the acts of Government on the natives."[32]

Elphinstone on his way to Pune halted at Hyderabad to see the place and meet Major Kirkpatrick, whose assistant he was to be at Pune. There he learnt that due to ill health the Major was returning home[33] and Col. Berry Close was appointed instead as the Resident at Poona.[34]

From Major Kirkpatrick, Elphinstone learnt how to implement the Subsidiary Alliance and from Major Hemming he came to know about the state of affairs at Pune.

Major Kirkpatrick explained to Elphinstone that he had received instructions from Lord Wellesley, that he could not proceed with his plans regarding Pune unless he had a temporary force established with the Nizam. An alliance with the Nizam became a necessity as his territories stood in between the State of the Marathas and Tipu, and both of them were a source of trouble to the British. The Marathas were continuously invading the Nizam's territories under the pretext of collecting chauth and Tipu had already started a Jaccolin Club at Seringapatnam and Napolean had already written to "citizen Tipu" from Egypt.[35] The Major said that in Hyderabad circumstances proved favourable for the British to drive the Nizam into a "Subsidiary Alliance." Firstly, because the Nizams minister, whose attitude was always pro-British was released from prison by the Marathas in 1797. This helped them to establish British influence at the Court of the Nizam. Secondly, Raymond, the French officer had raised a trained and disciplined force of 15000[36] and who wielded great influence at the Court, had died on 15th of March 1798. Perron, who succeeded him was inefficient and unpopular. The army of 15,000 under French command had become leaderless, due to dissensions among the officers. The British seized the opportunity to negotiate with the Nizam for subsidising a British force. The quick action of the British Government, dissolved the formidable army under the French without striking a blow. Kirkpatrick told Elphinstone that, "Perron was a stupid fellow... that Raymond would certainly have baffled all our plans, that if he had seen no better way, he would have deposed the Nizam."[37] Therefore considerable credit for this quick action went to Major Kirkpatrick, who in a very diplomatic way and without much resistance brought about the signing of the "Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance" between the Nizam and the British on 1st September 1798. This treaty proved very ruinious to the Marathas, for henceforth the British would arbitrate in all disputes then pending between the Nizam and the Marathas. It also stated that if the Marathas would try to defy the authority of the Nizam then the British would protect him.[38] With this alliance, the Nizam's power was politically neutralized in the Deccan.

The way was thus made clear for Wellesley to move forward with his much awaited plan of declaring war on Tipu. The British campaign against Tipu proved to be unexpectly short and conclusive. The hostilities started in the beginning of May 1799 and ended with the fall of Seringapatnam and the death of Tipu.[39] After achieving an alliance with these two States, Wellesley became all the more anxious to force the Peshwa Baji Rao II to accept a subsidiary force and British arbitration. Or else it would have certainly led the British sooner or later to war with the Marathas.[40]

Major Kenning while speaking to Elphinstone about the prevailing state of affairs at the court of the Peshwa; informed him that though the seeds of internal dissensions were sown in the Maratha Confederacy and there was constant rivalry among the chiefs; yet it was to be remembered that the Marathas were a hardy race of warriors who could unite at any moment to stir up trouble in British owned territories.

Henning also brought to the notice of Elphinstone that he had received information that the Peshwa was going to raise several battalions to be commanded by Brahmins. Besides this, Shinde who was present in the Deccan with his large French trained army, was a continuous threat to the British. Such was the position at Pune where Elphinstone was going as a diplomat. But Elphinstone was sharp enough to grasp the situation. As he wrote, 'the Peshwa would soon realise that Europeans alone could fight Europeans and would eventually request the English to help against the French. Shinde was not in a position to oppose the British by placing troops at Pune.'[41] This is of course what Elphinstone thought and his anticipations proved right later.

Political Scene at Poona at the time of Elphinstone's arrival

On 1st February 1802 when Elphinstone arrived in Pune, the political scene at the Court of the Peshwa was one of utter chaos and confusion. The Maratha Empire as pointed out by Malcolm 'had no intelligent form, its complex rested more on usage than on efficiency, legal discipline and fixed rules.'[42] The great Maratha Empire founded by Shivaji was on the verge of disintegration. The unitary State created by the founder of Maratha power had to be partially decentralised to cope with military and political exigencies because the descendants of Shivaji were weak and inefficient. Hence the political authority passed on into the hands of the Peshwas, who gradually transformed themselves into hereditary rulers of the empire, forcing the monarchs into a ceremonious seclusion. Shivaji's descendants became 'a cypher and a prisoner in the fortress of Satara',[43] while the descendants of the first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath ruled in imperial majesty at Poona. It also led to the emergence of leaders representing parochial interests and family ambitions. These, often conflicting interests later sought adjustment through the curious working of the "Maratha Confederacy". Though this confederacy had the great binding force of common national origin, yet its foundation was rent by internal jealousies. The Gaikwads, the Bhonsles, the Shindes, the Holkars, the Pawars and other members of the Maratha Confederacy had become almost independent in the later period. The heridatary Maratha officers - the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes - functioned as powerful elements in the Maratha polity. The lands they had held before as Mokasa and saranjam became their heridatary possessions as jagirs. The Maratha political system required the Maratha chiefs to raise their own troops and they were paid by the saranjam out of the Maratha claims from the Mughal territories.[44]

In view of these facts, the British had realized that it was not a easy task to intervene with the Maratha politics. The British attitude towards the Marathas during this period can be explained in the words of Malcolm 'the Marathas hated all direct proceedings and evasive way of dealing with others.'[45]

Fortunately for the British - the path was being made clear for intervention as from this period i.e. 1800,[46] onwards there was no proper leader to guide the Maratha State. Baji Rao II destined to be the last Peshwa was an unworthy pleasure seeking man who had none of the qualities of statesmanship. The two eminent leaders, Daulatrao Shinde and Yeshwantrao Holkar, who could have united and given an effective lead to the Maratha power were constantly busy in their own internal intrigues in North India. Baji Rao II created more problems by taking an indiscriminate interest in their rivalry. He hated Holkar because the latter had opposed to Baji Rao's getting the Pune Gadi, and had supported the candidature of Baji Rao's brother Amrit Rao. Towards the end of 1801 when war broke out between the Shindes and the Holkars, the Peshwa naturally supported the Shindes, who turned out victorious in the war. Yeshwantrao's brother Vithoji Holkar fell into the hands of the Peshwa and was brought to Pune where he was publicly trampled to death.[47] The Peshwa failed to realise that this would have an adverse effect on the other chiefs who were no better than him and they were only waiting for strengthening their position. The Southern Maratha chiefs were up in arms and were busy conspiring against the Peshwa. Besides that the Peshwa was experiencing a number of troubles from Mankaries (people of status in the Durbar) and the members of the ancient families, such as the Patwardhans, the Phadkes, the Rastes, etc. The whole of the Maratha

Country was filled with tumult and disorder. The Peshwa's Government 'without money, military power and support', the Resident Col. Close observed 'became less respectable every day'.[48] The Peshwa's authority and the strength of his empire had been reduced to a 'low state' because of 'the unprincipled ambition, overgrown power and dissensions of some of its great members.'[49]

An appropriate moment for British Interventions

Elphinstone's task at Pune as previously stated was to assist the Resident Col. Close in trying to persuade the Peshwa in accepting a British Subsidiary force at Pune. The above situation appeared most favourable for the accomplishment of an alliance since the Peshwa was threatened from all sides.[50] Close studied the situation from all angles, but all the same was hesitating to resort to any direct action. But Elphinstone was confident that it was the most appropriate moment for intervention. The notes in his dairy reveal that he had a deeper insight in the political situation than Resident Close. For Elphinstone writes at one place, "there never was a time more unfavourable for opposing it (alliance). But it may serve to bring the Peshwa to receive a force. Col. Close thinks the Peshwa, in earnest in his last proposition. I can scarcely think so."[51] Although Elphinstone had met the Peshwa only once, yet he was correct in judging the character of the Peshwa for he said, "the Peshwa's face is good and dignified though there is something vulgar in his mouth."[52] The subsidary alliance he said would not be acceptable to the Peshwa and he would only enter into one when placed in a desperate and defenceless situation.

However, historical events and circumstances, directly or indirectly, led to the path of British intervention when the Peshwa's sole supporter Daulatrao Shinde left Pune, with his French trained army, as there was a threat of Zaman Shah, invading India.[53] However, the British at this moment did not take the advantage of the absence of Shinde - instead this opportunity was taken by Holkar, who felt this was the appropriate moment to take revenge upon the Peshwa over the murder of his brother Vithoji and even planned to take Pune.

The British chance came when Yeshwantrao Holkar invaded the outskirts of Pune. A decisive battle took place at Hadapsar on the 25th October 1802, in which the Peshwa was defeated. He fled and took shelter with the Company at Vasai. Elphinstone in his journal, gives a vivid account of the battle and about the flight of the Peshwa. He had accompanied Col. Close to Vasai, where they forced the Peshwa to sign the Treaty of Vasai with the Company on the 31st of December, a few hours before new year (1803).[54] The treaty bound him to receive and the East India Company to furnish, a permanent Subsidiary force.

Col. Wellesley was entrusted with the task of restoring Baji Rao II to his Peshwaship at Poona, in consonance with the terms of the Treaty of Vasai. Elphinstone along with Close and others accompanied the Peshwa to Pune, where, he was formally restored to power on the 13th May 1803.[55]

The British considered the matter from all points of view. Wellesley immediately realised that the mere restoration of Baji Rao was not enough, it was equally necessary for them to enter into an alliance with the Confederates and Amritrao, the brother of the Peshwa, who as even the British knew, was an intelligent, sensible and efficient man. The people of Maharashtra seem to have wanted him to become the Peshwa. Thus the British, fearing that he might rise to power in future forced him to sign a treaty in August 1803.[56] By this treaty he was to be given a pension of Rs. 7 lakhs and the latter even agreed to live in exile at Benares.[57] Wellesley, after making the position of the Company stable at Pune, turned his attention to annihilate the other Maratha Confederates.

Elphinstone as diplomat and soldier under Sir Arthur Wellesley

Malcolm served Wellesley as private secretary, but unfortunately he fell ill. Therefore he was replaced by Elphinstone. He was given charge of the intelligence department, because of his knowledge of the vernacular languages and especially of Persian, then the principal channel of intercourse in diplomacy. He wrote letters for Wellesley and even looked after all diplomatic relations with the enemy.[58]

The Shindes of Gwalior and the Bhonsles of Nagpur fearing that they too would suffer the same fate as their Peshwa decided together to challenge Wellesley. The Holkars chose to sit on the fence. Their armies were placed along the frontier of the Peshwas dominion and the fort of Ahmednagar was well stocked with ammunitions, arms and supplies, and it was strongly defenced by Shinde's men. But Wellesley out smartered them by bribing Shinde's European officer in charge of the fort, and thereafter he confidently launched the first blow. The brahmin Killedar, finding his position untenable, asked for terms and surrendered the fort on 12th August 1803.[59] Elphinstone, who was present in this seige wrote a number of letters to his friend Strachey giving details of the battle.[60]

Elphinstone at the battle of Asai

Wellesley after capturing Ahmednagar, turned his attention, towards Aurangabad. Skirmishes immediately commenced between the two opponents, culminating in the battle of Asai on 24th September 1803. During this battle Elphinstone rode close to the General the whole day, "slept almost supperless (and really breakfastless and dinnerless) on the ground in the open air without finding the smallest inconvenience."[61] Though his main duty at the campaign was 'Interpretation' which he said was 'an agreeable, secure', occupation.[62]

After Asai, Wellesley captured Adgaon, (south of Nagpur) but his main object was to capture the strategic fort of Ashirgad north of Burhanpur. He directed one of his Colonels, Col. Stevenson to take up the responsibility, while his army was busy trying to prevent the Marathas, from entering the territories of either the Peshwa or the Nizam. The fort fell to the British on the 1st November 1803.

Elphinstone at Gawilgad

The strong fortress of Gawilgad (near Nagpur) became Wellesley's next target. Elphinstone though unwell, continued to ride side by side with Wellesley. The fortress fell into the British hands on 9th December 1803. The battle around the fortress is graphically described by Elphinstone in his journal and he gives a lucid narrative of the part he played at the close of this drama.[63]

The two chiefs Shinde and Bhonsle tried their best to conclude a joint peace, as they had jointly conducted the war. But, Wellesley insisted on imposing a separate treaty on both of them. The vanquished had no choice but to submit. Elphinstone was responsible for drawing up the treaty in Persian which he had "dictated as fast as it could be written." The Bhonsle signed the 'Treaty of Devgaon' on 17th December 1803 and the Shinde signed the 'Treaty of Surji - Anjangaon' on 30th December 1803.[64] Thus all the Confedrates with the exception of the Holkar had come under the domination of the Company. Though Elphinstone did not play a very prominent role, he was constantly present, as he was Wellesley's secretary and political adviser. This gave him the opportunity to show his ability and a chance to get close to Wellesley; which is likely to have been one of the main reasons of Elphinstone's rapid promotions. Wellesley and Elphinstone got on well with each other.

Similarities between Elphinstone and Sir Arthur Wellesley

One observer gave the similarities in their characters. Elphinstone was all his life an introspective and a romantic, half resigned to melancholy and not averse from 'the horrible and the sublime.' After Assai he visited the battle - ground at night, observed the ghostly scenes, and meditated, 'I began to feel a good deal of horror, awful but not unpleasant.' Wellesley of course did not share these sentiments, but what they had in common was more enduring material. They were both by nature of aristocratic temper, disdaining excuses and indecision and the art of gaining popularity. Both of them were fundamentally simple minded and resented if any attempts were rendered to make simple minded and resented if any attempts were rendered to make simple things complicated. Each had an enormous grasp of practical detail imposed upon a peculiar clarity of perception, both of persons and of things. Wellesley's contemporary despatches about the problems of transport in the Deccan and about the fodder for the mules could be matched a few years later by Elphinstone's meticulous survey of the administrative system of the annexed provinces of the Marathas. Neither supposed that British Parliamentary rule could do anything but harm to their rule in India or to the Indians. They feared to see India at the mercy of British internal politics, with its strict party system and party patronage, or a victim of that mixture of ignorance and idealism which would make a policy popular at home and disastrous abroad.[65]

To Elphinstone, Wellesley remained an undebatable hero. When they parted at the end of the campaign Wellesley paid out what was, presumably, the handsomest compliment that he had in his mind. He said that Elphinstone had mistaken his vocation, he ought to have been a soldier. He wrote a warm recommendation to his brother the Governor General, who accordingly appointed him as acting Resident at Nagpur. Elphinstone on receiving his orders wrote to his friend Strachey, "I was extremely glad to find I was coming into employment."[66] At the same time he expressed his regret for leaving Wellesley and the army. Elphinstone's brother James who was in India on receiving the news remarked, "His success is therefore established and I am extremely glad he is fixed in the diplomatic line, for it is the most suited to his talents and knowledge which are very great and I am convinced he will make a great figure before he is done."[67]

Elphinstone as Resident at Nagpur and Shinde's Court

Elphinstone's main purpose at Nagpur was to ensure the Raja into the scheme of Subsidiary Alliance. When Elphinstone arrived at Nagpur, he found Raghoji Bhonsle's Court presented a different picture. The Bhonsle's situation was indeed pitiable. The Raja of Nagpur had by treaty ceded to the British certain territories but his sarders and amildars still held on to them. Elphinstone was asked to persuade the Raja to give over to the Company these ceded districts. He was also informed that the Governor-General would retaliate any injury done to the districts ceded by the treaty. Which made Elphinstone's task very difficult indeed. There was a lot of pressure on Elphinstone and he understood that he would have to be firm and tactful, so as to avoid another war. The problem became complicated, because parts of the Raja's territories were interwoven with those of the Nizam and there were many boundary disputes besides the tangled problem of collecting revenue. But both the Raja and Elphinstone handled the situation in a very diplomatic way. Elphinstone's task was made easy by the Raja's straight-forward behaviour. His real difficulty lay in persuading the Raja, after the treaty, to accept a British Subsidiary force and a Resident at his court. Elphinstone felt that the only way to achieve this purpose was to win the friendship of the Raja's ministers, Yeshwantrao Ramchandra and Jaikrishn, who had great influence over the Raja. This policy indeed helped, for the Raja resolved to remain friendly. But his attitude at once changed, when war broke out with the Holkars which made Elphinstone very anxious. He feared that Raghuji was being gradually sucked into the vortex of a Maratha Confederacy. Preparations for a war became obvious and Elphinstone after successive warnings threatened to leave Nagpur. It was his firmness that eventually won the day and peace was maintained.[68]

From Nagpur Elphinstone was transferred on 3rd May 1808 to the Court of Shinde,[69] where he hardly stayed for two months. Before he could even settle down with his work at Gwalior, he received orders from Lord Minto, the Governor-General, to lead an embassy to Kabul, with the dual purpose of strengthening British influence in Afghanistan and of countering whatever it was that the French might be at. Elphinstone was most thrilled with the offer, for like Arthur Wellesley it was also his dream, to bring the influence of India to bear upon the great drama which was at this time centring around the relations between France and Russia and to associate his own name, however remotely, with the overthrow of Napoleon.[70]

NOTES

1. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone. The Indian Years 1796-1827, Bombay 1971, p.1.
2. Ibid p. 7.
3. Colebrooke T.E. Life of The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, London, 1884, Vol. I, p.3.
4. Choksey R.D. op.cit. pp.3-4.
5. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit. pp. 4-5.
6. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A. Elphinstone to His Mother Kensington, 22-2-1794.
7. Choksey R.D. op.cit. p.21.
8. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit. p.6.
9. Ibid, p.7.
10. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A. Elphinstone to His Mother, Kensington - March, 1795.
11. Lord Radcliffe of Werneth, Mountstuart Elphinstone, The Romanes Lecture Delivered in Examination School, 25-5-1962, p.9.
12. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A. Elphinstone to His Mother, Kensington, March, 1795.
13. Sen, S.N. Anglo-Maratha Relations 1785-96; The Macmillan Company Ltd. 1974, p.3.
14. Ibid. p.296.
15. Robert, P.E. History of British India 3rd Edition, 1952, p.254.
16. Ali, Abdul, A.F.M. : "Commercial and Social Intercourse

between the Hon. East India Company and the Poona Court in the 18th Century." Indian Historical Records Commission Proceeding Vol. XI Delhi, pp.176-179.

17. Sen S.N. op.cit. p.10.
The murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao was followed by a civil revolution. Raghunath Rao the uncle of the Peshwa aspired to become the Peshwa. But he was declared by Ram Shastri as the murderer of Narayan Rao. Raghunath Rao, frightened, fled to Vasai and sought British protection.

18. Ibid. pp.10-11.

19. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar Vol. 35. Letter No. 67.

20. Ibid. No. 86.

21. Ibid No. 87.

22. Foreign Department. Secret Proceedings, 7-9-1775, Quoted by Varma S.P. A study in Maratha Diplomacy (Anglo-Maratha Relation 1772-1783). Agra, 1954, p.72.

23. Sardesai G.S. New History of the Marathas, Vol. III, Bombay 1948, pp.118-119.

24. Ibid, p. 198.

25. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A. Elphinstone to His Mother Calcutta, 19-4-1796.

26. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A. Elphinstone to His Mother. Benares - no date.

27. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit p.13.

28. Cotton J.S. Rulers of India Series Mountstuart Elphinstone, Oxford 1892, p.22.
29. Colebrooke, T.E. Life of The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, London, 1884. Vol. I, p.23.
30. Ibid, pp.31-32.
31. Ibid.
32. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone, The Indian Years 1796-1827, Bombay 1971, p.33.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid, p.35.
35. Ibid, p.36.
36. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit. p.33.
37. Choksey R.D. op.cit. p.37.
38. Robert P.E. India under Wellesley, London, 1929, p.81.
39. Ibid, p.53.
40. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit. p.40.
41. Ibid, p.34.
42. MSS EUR 151 No. 107. Malcolm to Edmonstone, Mysore, 31-1-1805.
43. Sen, S.N. Anglo-Maratha Relations 1785-96, Macmillan 1974. Introduction, p.1.
44. Satischandra: The Maratha Policy and its agrarian consequences in 'Ideas In History', Ed. Bisheshwar Prasad, Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1969, pp.183-184.
45. MSS EUR 151 No. 107, Malcolm to Edmonstone, Mysore, 31-1-1805.

46. Sardesai G.S. Main Current of Maratha History pp. 205-206. "The old Ramshastri had already passed away on the 11st November 1789, Mahadji Shinde died on 12th February 1794 being followed by Haripant Phadke four months later (on 14th June 1794) and by Ahalyabai Holkar a year later (on 13th August 1795). The young Peshwa Madhav Rao, who since his birth had been the joy and hope of his nation, lost his life on 27th October 1795 by an accidental fall from the balcony of his Palace. The subsequent deaths of Tukoji Holkar on 15th August 1797 and of Parshuram Bhau Patwardhan on 18th September 1799 and last of all that of Nana Fadnavis on 13th March 1800, closed the final Chapter of Maratha Swarj founded by Shivaji."
47. Sardesai G.S. New History of The Marathas. Vol. III, Bombay, 1948, pp.366-367.
48. Mills J. History of India. Vol. VI, London, 1848, p.276.
49. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. VI, Poona Affairs 1797-1801, Palmer's Embassy, Ed. Sardesai G.S. Bombay 1939, p.624.
50. Ibid, p.699.
51. Choksey R.D. op.cit. p.42.
52. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I. op.cit. p.46.
53. P.R.C. VI. pp.197-198.
54. Aitchison, C.U.A. Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries. op.cit. Vol. VI. pp.52-58.
55. Gupta P.C. Baji Rao II and East India Company,

Allied Publishers, Bombay, New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, London, New York. 1964. p.52.

56. Ibid, p.73.

57. Ibid, p.75.

58. Choksey R.D. op.cit. p.47.

59. Sardesai, G.S. New History of The Marathas Vol. III pp.409-410.

60. A large number of letters written by Elphinstone to Strachey on this subject as well as his journals of this period are available in India Office Library MSS. EUR. F12 8 Box 7. Colebrooke has published only a fragment of this archival material.

61. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I. op.cit. pp.71-72. Assi is in modern Aurangabad district.

62. Ibid, p.77.

63. Ibid.

64. Gupte P.C. op.cit. p.85.

65. Lord Radcliffe of Werneth, 'Mountstuart Elphinstone,' The Romane Lecture Delivered in the Examination Schools, 25th May 1962. Oxford p.12.

66. Choksey R.D. op.cit. 56.

67. MSS EUR F88 Box III C.

68. Choksey R.D. op.sit. pp.61-68.

69. Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records. Vol. II (1807-1811). Sinha H.N. Nagpur, Government Printing, M.P. 1952, p.1.

70. Cotton J.S. op.cit. p.58.

CHAPTER III

ELPHINSTONE AS RESIDENT 1811-1817

On his return from the Kabul embassy, Elphinstone was appointed as Resident to the Peshwa Baji Rao II's court in Poona in 1811[1], which was the most critical period in the history of the East India Company. It was in this year that the continental system launched by Napolean, adversely affected the trade of the Company.. There was a fear of French and Russian expeditions to India through its north-western passes. During this critical period Elphinstone was asked to fill in the most important civil and diplomatic post in the political service of the Company. In India, the Maratha power with all its shortcomings was still the most dominating factor in Indian politics. It was realised by the Company that the British would never establish their authority unless they got rid of the Marathas.

External Situation

The Treaty of Tilsit, signed in 1807, between Russia and France placed the Napoleonic empire at its height. England was suffering severly from commercial distress, and was, further-more, drifting into war with the United States of America.[2] Napolean felt that he should take advantage of the situation, thus after Tilsit his thoughts were again set upon the East. He wrote to the Czar: "An army of fifty thousand Frenchmen and Russians, with perhaps a few

Austrians, could march to Constantinople and thence hurl itself upon Asia.... it is easier to send troops from Boulogne to Talkestone".[3] Napolean further wrote "Then England would lie at the feet of the Continent." The British Government at home and in India were so taken up by this Franco-Russian expedition against India through Asia - Minor and Persia that before the danger was recognised as over, Lord Minto the Governor General immediately sent out embassies to the various courts.

John Malcolm, who had been previously sent to Persia by Lord Wellesley in 1799 was now dispatched to Tehran. Charles Metcalfe was sent to Ranjit Singh at Lahore, and Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent to Kabul on a similar errand, in 1810.

Despite the fact that an envoy from London was simultaneously negotiating a separate and conflicting treaty with the Shah of Persia, each of them succeeded in getting a treaty signed. Metcalfe concluded the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809 with Ranjit Singh, which guaranteed him from molestation, west of the Sutlej.

Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent to Afghanistan however, did not enter Afghanistan proper, for the King, Shah Shuja, met him at Peshawar and agreed to oppose the French and Persian in any attempt to march through his country. But before Elphinstone had returned, Shah Shuja was driven from his throne by a rebellion. Elphinstone for his part achieved a treaty in 1809, though with a sadly transient ruler. Finally, he came back to Calcutta with a rich experience, and enhanced reputation, and the material for his much admired book, the History of Afghanistan.

All these alliances which were achieved in quick succession were inoperative for in 1810 a tariff Revolution broke out in Russia. The Czar was forced to break off from the Continental System. As a result of which in 1811 France and Russia were again at war. Napoleon seemed to have taken the Russian campaign almost in a spirit of a welcome adventure. "Moscow", he said, "is the half way house to India". These were the words which were being echoed in Europe when Elphinstone accepted the appointment as Resident of the Pune Court the nerve centre of Maratha politics.

Internal Situation

The Subsidiary Alliance System introduced by Wellesley had brought a major portion of India under the influence of the British. But still the respective rulers were acknowledged as the head of their respective State and were independant in their internal affairs - though their foreign policy was managed by the British. Ranjit Singh in the North-West was becoming very powerful. The Gurkhas North-Eastern frontiers were continuously creating trouble, while the Pindaris were becoming troublesome in central India. The Maratha Confederates were yet not subdued. At this critical moment of crisis both at Home and India, Elphinstone was sent to Pune to consolidate British authority in the Maratha Country. But the way had already been prepared for him by the previous British Residents, Malet, Palmer, Close and Russell.

British Residents and The Pune Court

The establishment of British Residency in Pune in 1786 was frought with consequences for the fate of Maratha independence. The Pune court had an experience with a British envoy when the British agent Thomas Mostyn came to Pune in 1767 on a diplomatic mission. Mostyn repeated his visit to Pune in 1772 and continued to stay in Pune for full two years. Ever since the days of Peshwa Madhavrao I, Mostyn was keeping a watchful eye on the affairs of the Peshwa's Court. During his stay in Pune Mostyn kept on reporting to the Bombay Government about the existing states of affairs and urged his countrymen to profit by the prevailing confusion of the Maratha Government. In 1773 Mostyn advised his mentors in Bombay to take advantage of the distracted conditions of the Pune Court and seize the Maratha territories in the vicinity of Bombay.[4] It was Mostyn to whom Raghunathrao sent his agents in October 1774 to negotiate terms for armed help.[5] It was Mostyn again who reduced Moroba Phadnis' power of authority, and formed a secret project for conciliating Raghunathrao and removing Nana Phadnis from ministry by confining him to imprisonment.[6]

The appointment of Sir Charles Malet as the first British Resident at the Pune Court was indicative of the growing British involvement in Maratha politics. It was Nana Phadnis who initiated the move to have a permanent British envoy in the Pune Court. Nana was angered by the increased importance of Mahadji Shinde in Maratha poltics as a result of the Treaty of Salbai that had provided the appointment of a British Resident in Shinde Court.[7]

Mahadji had warned Nana Phadnis about the nature of British diplomacy in Indian Courts in 1784 in these words: "My attempt in organising the Emperor's power and resources and my elevation to the highest post in his gift, have given extreme offence to the British. Brown at Delhi is freely bribing the imperial grandees to remove me from my situation. You must remember how treacherous these British are."[8]

Despite Mahaji's warning Nana had opened talks with the British Government to have a separate Resident at Pune for direct dealings. Nana's move resulted in the appointment of Charles Malet as the first British Resident at Pune.

Malet as Resident of Pune

Malet came to Pune on 3rd March 1786. He lived in Pune for eleven full years. Malet's residency in Pune contributed largely towards the growth of British influence in Western India. His intimate knowledge of Maratha affairs and mastery of Persian and Urdu helped him to get first hand information in all matters. His intelligence system was farflung and perfect. He was free to spend a large sum at his discretion, much of which was usefully employed in bribing the starving underlings of the Maratha Court. He had a regularly paid European spy named Ynon in the Maratha army.[9]

Sir Charles Malet was succeeded by Col. William Palmer. Palmer joined his post at Pune on 24th March 1798 Col. Palmer's embassy at Pune extended over a period of three years and nine months.[10] So far as the Maratha court was concerned, Palmer had no crisis to deal with, his attention being mainly directed towards negotiating a subsidiary alliance with the Peshwa, who stoutly resisted the British overtures in this regard. To that extent the result of Palmer's embassy at Pune consisted only in the preparation of the ground for his successor Col. Barry Close, who succeeded in imposing the British alliance on Bajirao.

Col. Barry Close was appointed to the Residency of Pune in 1801 and he held that post during the following ten years. Among his signal services to the Company was that of concluding with the Peshwa, the Treaty of Vasai, the ultimate consequence of which was the destruction of the Maratha power.

Col. Close in co-operation with other British agents compelled Baji Rao; to remain a mere helpless tool in the hands of his protectors. Baji Rao, though reluctant to their dictates was shorn of all power.[11] Col. Close to a great extent succeeded in preventing any anti-British Combination of powers, by detaching Peshwa Baji Rao from active politics.

Thus the loyal British Residents were able to prepare the ground for Wellesley, to establish British supremacy in India. But G.G. Shore had very correctly pointed out that Wellesley could break the Maratha Confederacy only after he had annihilated Tipu and isolated two of the Maratha powers - the Gaikwad of Gujarat and the Peshwa of Pune.[12] The first task i.e. annihilating Tipu from the political scene was done by Wellesley but the second important task was now left for Elphinstone to achieve, in order to establish British authority in India firmly.

Elphinstone As Resident

Instructions were given to Elphinstone to keep the Peshwa weak and disunited with his confederates, so that at an opportunate hour, it would fascilitate easy conquest of the Maratha State.[13] Elphinstone's idea of diplomacy was based on morality rather than expediency as the basis of politics.[14] Once talking of morality in politics to Close, Elphinstone said, "A man ought certainly never to make it a principle to neglect in politics the common rules of honesty between man and man, and though when he acts contrary to them on the last extremity and on the impulse of the moment he may be excused."[15] Though, in history, so far it has been observed that the British followed the principal of supremacy of political expediency over morality. Therefore an attempt has been made in the present chapter to show how far Elphinstone followed his policy.

When Elphinstone landed at Pune in 1811 as Resident, he found a marked change in the condition of the country and the authority of the Peshwa had been gradually restored throughout the territory under his immediate administration. After the Treaty of Vasai and the confirmation of British ascendancy. The Peshwa disclosed a regular plan to remove everything that was great in his territories and to draw the whole power of the state direct or indirect into his own hands.[16]

The Peshwa's financial position too had improved. From the situation of utter bankruptcy in 1803, the treasury showed considerable recovery. The Peshwa's revenue independent of that allowed to the jagirdars amounted to nearly one crore and ten lakhs of Rupees. That alloted to the jagirdars might have been 70 lakhs and his annual saving might have been 45 lakhs of Rupees. Baji Rao loved money and used to inspect all his accounts, both of receipts and expenditure himself. It is said that he devoted some time every evening to this occupation. He kept a part of the surplus at one of his palaces at Pune and send the rest off to his hill forts. His treasury exceeded two crores of Rupees.[17]

Sadashiv Mankeshwar the chief councillor of the

Peshwa was relegated to the background, by the more cunning Trimbakji Dengle,[17A] under whose influence Baji Rao was gradually falling. Gant Duff described him "as a person of remarkable activity, intelligence and vigour".[18] This was quite contrary to the picture painted of Trimbakji by some European historian as a worthless, vain menial who had gained an ascendency in the Pune Court by catering to the lesser inclination of the Peshwa,[19] and had rapidly risen to power from a patil to being the most favourite and confidential agent of Baji Rao.[20] However the most important, reason which led to the rapid rise of Trimbakji in the Peshwas favour wrote Elphinstone was the complete union of his[21] views of those of his master. Elphinstone had a very bad opinion of the personal conduct of Trimbakji and he was even disliked by the Peshwa's Sardars. It appears that Appa Desai had a hand in the admission of Trimbakji into the Peshwa's army. But at the same time there were rumours that his exertions were used more to meet the Peshwa's inclinations than the contrary. Though the Peshwa greatly desired the introduction of Trimbakji to his council - yet he did not himself press the measure publicly. Appa Desai had only argued the matter for him with the other sardars who never consented his appointment. Though Trimbakji was admitted, however, he always encamped seperately from the other sardars.[22]

From 1803 there began between the master and the servant a close partnership of aims, plans, and action, which lasted till the end of the last war.[23] The Marathi records show that right from the year 1805 the Peshwa had began entrusting to Trimbakji's charge many important matters of the State.[24] At the Peshwa's instance he began farming the districts to the highest bidders, seized upon the estates of the recalcitrant jagirdars and landholders and caused their revenues to be paid to the Government treasury, with a view to ensuring plentiful supply of money for the necessary preparation for war against the English.[25] He began, systematically strengthening the Peshwa's army, enlisting chiefly Arab and Gosavi infantry,[26] and had began appointing his confidents to all the key posts and strategic places.

Elphinstone understood that Trimbakji with all his defects was a man to be reckoned with. He felt rather nervous as to how he would proceed with the instruction given to him. For he wrote, "I am afraid we must meet with more active endeavours to realise the Peshwa's pretensions, and more reasonable resistance to our advice when at variance with our designs, than we have ever experienced from the present Minister."[27] But the path was made easy for Elphinstone due to the ambitious policy of the Peshwa. Who was trying hard to centralise his authority, but unfortunately in trying to do so he was oppressed by the military chiefs, betrayed by all. This made the Peshwa all the more determine 'to root out the whole body'. Accordingly he pursued the plan of his ancestors in gradually suppressing the dependents of the Raja and he went a step further by adding a system of reducing those of his own family by confiscating the lands of all the jagirdars who were too weak to resist him.[28] For achieving this purpose he had expected the assistance of the British subsidiary force, which had been promised to him according to the Treaty of Vasai.

Events Leading to The Signing of the Pandharpur Treaty

The jagirdars were the subjects of the Pune Government. Among them the most important were the Patwardhans, Raste, Appa Desai and Appa Sahib. They had established their control in the Southern Maratha Country. Their rights and duties were fixed by agreements which could not be altered. They had to furnish the Peshwa with their troop whenever called upon by the latter. They had a complete jurisdiction within their own territories and they exercised the right of life and death over their subjects. These jagirdars played a part in the politics of the country similar to that which was exercised by the great feudal chiefs in Europe during the Middle Ages. Whenever the central authority weakened it was openly defied, and during the confused times which followed the accession of Baji Rao. These chiefs took part in the struggle or waged war with each other and profited by the anarchy in enlarging their own territory.[29] After the treaty of Vasai these Jagirdars terminated the payment of the revenue to the

Peshwa and instead used it for strengthening their army and with the help of this army they began usurping the lands of the Peshwa.[30] This caused much irritation to the Peshwa, who kept appealling for British help. Previously an attempt was made by Wellesley to solve the problem of the jagirdars. A mission was sent under Strachey but it did not materialise because at that time war with the Holkar's broke out; and Wellesley's mind was diverted away from the issue.

Prior to the coming of Elphinstone, Russell the then Resident, tried to bring about a settlement by intervening on the side of the Peshwa, by using the British subsidiary force. For the time being there was a bit of peace and the jagirdars agreed to give up their usurped land but as soon as Russell left they started their old tactics.[31]

Appa Sahib continued to defy the agreement with the Peshwa and inspite of his promise to restore all the lands which he held without authority he still continued to keep the fort of Hubli.[32] Raste had also refused to deliver up the fort of Badami.[33] Gokhale continued to hold the Pritinidhis jagir.[34] In addition to such acts of defiance the jagirdars, had also refused to obey the Peshwa on several occasion for instance in 1810-11 when the Pindaris were plundering the country; he had ordered them to march with their contingents against them.[35] Appa Sahib had not even cared to reply the Peshwa's orders to that effect.[36] But the Peshwa was equally to be blamed. Ganpatrao Panse the chief of artillery was deprived of his office and it was conferred on the Peshwa's favourite Trimbakji Dengale. He appointed Bapu Gokhale as his commander-in-chief and granted Saranjam from the territory of the Pritinidhi. Similarly he tried to sow disensions in the Patwardhan family by partitioning the ancestral property.

Thus the rift between the jagirdars and the Peshwa increased.

Hence the first and the most vexing problem that drew the attention of Elphinstone was that of the jagirdars. The Peshwa sent his minister Sadashiv Mankeshwar with a long list of complaints, especially regarding the behaviour of Appa Sahib to Elphinstone. He requested Elphinstone to help them by giving at least two battalions of the subsidiary force, so that they could solve the problem of the jagirdars once and for all. Elphinstone convinced that the demand of the Peshwa was just, asked for the permission of the Governor General, who flatly and decisively rejected the idea and directed the Resident,[37] "to avoid the hazard of committing the British Government to conducting of military operations against the Southern Jagirdars in support of the Peshwa's just rights". He was also instructed to dissuade the Peshwa, "the immediate advancement of claims however just that cannot be satisfied without the employment of military force.[38] The aim of the British was to keep alive the rebellious jagirdars as a damocle's sword over the Peshwa.

As British help was refused, the Peshwa decided to assert his own authority. In support of his right he had managed to recover many places from Appa Sahib. Raste also had given up large parts of his usurpations, including the parganas of Bagalkot and Jalihal and the strong fort of Badami. His saranjami lands also had been considerably reduced. Gokhale had surrendered the Pritinidh's jagir, which consisted of 25 forts, of which 17 were hill forts.[38] Chintamanrao also became more subdued and sent a force of 500 to serve the Peshwa's subedar of Savanoor.[39] Appa Desai too showed willingness to arrive at a settlement regarding his conquest from the Raja of Kolhapur while the jagirdars of Baramaji, Belgaum and Ganpatrao Panse, had been entirely dispossessed of their lands.[40] The resumption of these large territories had substantially added to the revenue of the Pune Government, as a result created much confidence in the Peshwa, to take action independently.

Mountstuart Elphinstone the Resident was quick enough to realise the danger that lay inherent in the situation. He was of the opinion that if the British did not interfere at this stage, the whole class of refractory Southern Jagirdars would be wiped off; and the very object of their policy followed till then would be defeated. Hence Elphinstone tried all that was within his means to defeat the Peshwa's efforts at consolidation and to keep the jagirdars intact.[41] Elphinstone felt they would never be faithful or loyal to their master in the hour of his need, therefore, he strongly pleaded to the Supreme Government, for interference. Elphinstone's dispatch of 26th October 1811, which ran into scores of pages, was prepared by him after making a through study of the problem. It gave a lucid account regarding (1) the rights and duties of the jagirdars towards the Peshwa. (2) On what condition they held their jagir and saranjami lands. (3) What were the claims of the Peshwa which required some adjustments. (4) What he felt should be the nature of future relationship between the two and the plan by which he wished to come to a compromise with the Peshwa and the jagirdars.

Elphinstone brought to the notice of the Governor General that after studying the nature of the agreement between the jagirdars; he had come to understand that they were not jagirdars in the proper sense i.e. they did not hold their lands by feudal tenure but were Saranjami sardars of the Pune State. According to the Maratha practice a Saranjamdar held land so long as he performed his military service to his master loyally and efficiently. The Peshwa appointed his own officers or Darakdars (officers) for controlling and inspecting; and to guard his interest in the saranjami lands. Elphinstone therefore laid down two principles in dealing with the Peshwa and the Southern Jagirdars : (1) principle of justice (2) policy of expediency. Elphinstone was in favour of extending justice to the jagirdars and preserving their rights so long as they were obedient and fulfilling their duties towards the Peshwa.

But in case the jagirdars refused to perform their duties, then the British Government was to assist the Peshwa in the vindication of his authority over the jagirdars.[42]

This despatch shows that Elphinstone had a strong head and a clear mind to take proper political decision at the proper time. He had fixed principles, and unshaken courage of mind to meet the challenge of the jagirdars. Elphinstone being a consumate statesman did not at once aim at the destruction of the system. He studied the problem carefully and logically analysed it and did not act hastily like the Peshwa. Who after having taken the decision to do away with the jagirdars did not bother to give it a second thought.

Elphinstone on receiving the approval of the Governor General, immediately wrote urgent letters to all his jagirdars. Wherein he stressed the necessity of settling all their disputes with the Peshwa amicably so that peace and prosperity of the land could be ensured. He asked them to proceed post haste to Pandharpur, where the Peshwa was coming on an annual pilgrimage, so that they could finalise the agreement.[43] The Jagirdars no doubt hesitated but when thretened that if they did not do so, force would be used, in fact Elphinstone had a subsidiary troop ready. The jagirdars had hesitated, but seeing no other alternative had to submit. The Peshwa himself was relentlessly pressurised into concluding an agreement.[44] At last on 19th July 1812 the Treaty of Pandharpur was signed,[45] under severe pressure by the Peshwa along with the chiefs that were present.

The Pandharpur Treaty proved to be the first political triumph of Elphinstone. It showed his diplomatic skill in tackling great problems of the time in the proper historical and political perspective. This compromise which he brought about between the Peshwa and the Jagirdars enhanced the prestige of the British and strengthened their position in the Maratha country. The Pandharpur Treaty is of significance in the history of the Marathas, as this was the beginning of the rivalry between Baji Rao and Elphinstone which ultimately ended in the final extinction of Maratha power.

Settlement with the Raja of Kolhapur

While the settlement with the jagirdars was in the offing, opportunity was seized by Elphinstone to arrive at a settlement with the Raja of Kolhapur, another important Maratha Sovereign, whose country consisted of natural harbours such as Malwan, Sindhudurg etc. which were of great importance, for the trade of the Company.

The quarrels which had long subsisted between the Raja of Kolhapur and Appa Desai and the Sawants of Wadi had again exploded in an armed conflict in 1811, since Chintaman Rao had made a common cause with the Raja.[46] They had not only recommenced hostilities against Appa Desai but plundered and foraged the surrounding countries.[47]

The repeated warnings of Elphinstone did not help to restrain the Raja from constantly attacking the Peshwa's territory.[48]

In 1811 the Raja himself was hard pressed by attacks from Appa Desai on the one hand and the Sawant of Wadi on the other. Elphinstone realised that the Raja's difficulty could prove an opportunity for the British. Since a long time, British eyes had been covetously rivetted on the harbour of Malwan of which the strong fort of Sindhudurga was in the Raja's possession with his navy stationed there. If Malwan was secured the whole of the Western coastline of India could be entirely dominated by the British. Elphinstone opened negotiation with the Raja through his vakil Swarupji Kshirsagar and suggested the cession of Malwan to the British as a price for securing British protection.[49] The fort of Sindhudurg along with Sarjekot Padmagad etc. belonging to the Raja had been forcibly seized by the British in 1760 on the pretext of putting a stop to the piratical activities on the western coast. (The ships of the pirates were very often anchored near Malwan). In 1766 the Queen Jijabai of Kolhapur contracted a treaty with the British by which Malwan along with the fort was regained by Kolhapur after paying seven lakhs of Rupees to the British. Piratical activities however had continued.[50]

The Peshwa personally and also through Appa Desai strongly pressed the Raja to resist the British plan of getting Malwan. He even threatened the Raja with displeasure in the event of his compliance.[51]

The Peshwa himself strongly remonstrated to the Resident that the Raja was not a sovereign power but was a part and parcel of the Maratha Empire and the British had no right to conclude any treaty with him independently of the central government of Pune.[52] But while the Raja hesistated British threatened to attack the Kolhapur territory and that decided the issue.[53] A treaty was concluded between the Raja and the British on 16th September 1812,[54] by which former renounced all his rights to Chikodi and Manoli which were to be handed over to the Peshwa. The harbour of Malwan together with the forts of Padmagad, Rajkot and Sanjekot with the lands dependent on them were to be ceded to the Company. The Raja was not to have any armed vessel but promised all assistance to the British ships. The Company guaranteed to protect Kolhapur territory against foreign attack and Kolhapur agreed not to enter into any war without the previous consent of the British. All difference between the Raja and foreign powers were to be submitted to British arbitration.[55] This treaty proved to be another diplomatic achievement of Elphinstone.

Thus Elphinstone continued to pave the way for British intervention. But it was done so diplomatically, that it was made to appear, as though it was the Marathas who had asked him to do so.

No sooner had he finished settling the problems of the jagirdars and the Raja of Kolhapur, then once again the Peshwa's minister Sadashiv Mankeshwar came with another request for, "the adjustment of the claims of His Highness the Peshwa's Government on the Guickwar State."[56]

According to the 14th Article of the Treaty of Bassein the Peshwa had agreed that the British Government would, "examine into, and finally adjust", his demands on the Gaikwad.[57]

In 1805 the Gaikwad, too, had concluded a treaty with the British, by which "it similarly consented to submit all differences with the Peshwa to British arbitration."[58] For 12 long years the problem had remained unsolved until in 1814 when the Peshwa appointed his favourite Trimbakji Dengle to manage his concern at Ahmedabad,[59] a man to be reckoned, the British felt that if they did not take the matter seriously it could get out of their hand.

Elphinstone and the Gaikwad Affair

The Gaikwad of Baroda had always been subordinate to the Peshwa as representing the authority of the Chatrapati of Satara. Since 1798 no payment had been made by the Gaikwad to the Pune Government and large sums of arrears were due to the Peshwa under various heads, such as the nazarana, the annual tribute, commutation, for military service etc.[60] Elphinstone himself gives an account of the Peshwa's claims.

		Rs.
i)	Balance of an old account settled in 1798	39,82,789
ii)	Claims for tribute and commutation for military service for 14 years at the rate of Rs. 14,54,000/- per year	2,03,56,000
iii)	Demand for the revenues collected in the Babi (Babati - any item of revenue or any extra cess imposed upon some especific thing) Mahals for 41 years	41,00,000
iv)	Dues from Nazars for investiture for the Peshwa's recognition of the Gaikwad as "Senakhaskhel"	56,38,001
	Total -	3,40,76,790

Such were the claims of the Peshwa as estimated in 1811. In addition to these there were some miscellaneous. In 1813, the total claims amounted to something more than 4 crores. The amount given by Elphinstone is corroborated by the Bombay records.[61]

Though the Baroda Resident objected to the Peshwa's claims as being based on injustice and perfidy, the Gaikwad himself did not ever deny the validity of the Peshwa's claims.[62] In December 1810 Bapu Mairal was sent by Fateh Singh Gaikwad to Pune to settle the question. Though he stayed in Pune for a year he could not succeed in coming to an understanding. Therefore Fateh Singh Gaikwad decided to send Gangadhar Shastri[63] with the permission of the English.

Gangadhar Shastri arrived at Pune in the beginning of 1814. He could not at once start negotiation because of the absence of the Peshwa and due to the illness of Sadashiv Mankeshwar. In March, when the negotiations began, there was no chanse of a speedy solution. The Shastri wished that the English should coerse the Peshwa into granting the lease of Ahmedabad. Elphinstone refused to do so. At the same time the Peshwa was unwilling to give any consideration to a further renewal of the lease of Ahmedabad to the Gaikwad and in June he sent a person named Trimbak Rao Lakshman to Baroda to take charge of his share of Ahmedabad from the officers of the Gaikwad. On 26th June, Carnac, the Resident at Baroda wrote to the Bombay Government, complaining about the 'delay and procrastination incidental to all transactions with the Poona Durbar', and asked that Gandadhar Shastri and Bapu Mairal be speedily dismissed', by the Peshwa. Accordingly, the Bombay Government directed the Resident at Pune 'to exert his best endeavours for expediting the return of Gangadhar Shastri and Bapu Mairal to Baroda.[64]

Events at Pune, about this time seemed to take definite turn for the better. Elphinstone informed the Bombay Government that the negotiations had 'made considerable progress'. The Shastri prepared a draft of the agreement which the Peshwa accepted. By this agreement the Gaikwad was to cede a territory yielding a revenue of seven lakhs of rupees, and acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Peshwa by receiving investiture from him, provided it should always be given to the nearest heir and without a nazarana.[65] Gangadhar Shastri was quite confident that these terms would be acceptable to his master, because by paying seven lakhs of rupees a year, the Gaikwad would get rid of all the Peshwa's demands. Which, even if all the Gaikwad's claims, were admitted would amount to a larger annual sum.[66] This proposal of cession of territory by the Gaikwad to the Peshwa was even acceptable to the British Government. The Governor General informed that they could avail of this opportunity to do away with those territories in Gujerat which were inconveniently situated for their control and management and these wrote the Governor General, "should be included in the cession in lieu of which we might receive territories in exchange from the Gaikwad more centrally situated." As the British territories in Gujerat were, "too much interested by those of the Paishwa."[67] Unfortunately Fateh Singh was averse to any settlement on the basis of territorial cession and expressed his disapproval of the scheme. The Gaikwad pointed out that by entering into a discussion on the question of the rights of Sovereignty the Shastri had acted beyond his jurisdiction, and the arrangement proposed by him meant, 'a direct acknowledgement of the right of the

Peshwa to ment interfere in the domestic concerns of the Guyoowar.'[68] ~~Even~~ With this last point even the British agreed and said that it was a direct violation of the Treaty of Vasei 1803.[69] For once the Peshwa's minister gathered up courage; to prove his point he produced documentary evidence to show that the Gaikwad held their lands by virtue of the Peshwa's grant and brought out to the notice of Elphinstone that the Treaty of Vasei had given British only the right to arbitrate in their pecuniary dispute and that nowhere contained any insign, 'to the prejudice of his Sovereignty over that died.'[70] Elphinstone was quite taken up and though he tried his best to nullify the Peshwa's claims to Soverignty over the Gaikwads was forced to admit that the British Government, did not claim sovereignty over the Gaikwad and that the latter was undoubtedly dependent on the Pune State. Yet when Elphinstone tried to reiterate that the Gaikwad was his own sovereign in so far as the administration of the State was concerned, the Peshwa retorted that the Sovereignty then should rest in the Gaikwad himself and not in Gangadhar Shastri.[71]

While the Pune Resident and the Bombay Resident thus corresponded over the controversy regarding the Peshwa's Souvereignty the latter had entirely succeeded in winning over the Shastri to his side. Trimbakrao convinced the Shastri that the Peshwa had formed a very high opinion of his talents and abilities and was anxious to appoint him as his own minister and as if to cement his new friendship and in order to establish closer relationship, the Peshwa offered his sister-in-law in marriage to the Shastri's son.[72] The Shastri welcomed both the proposals with pleasure.[73]

All these events seemed to upset Elphinstone because it was at Nasik that close intimacy between the Peshwa and the Shastri had developed. To add injury to this insult, during this same period; the Peshwa in his relationship with the Resident became stiffer. He refused to confirm in writing the British engagements with the Kathiawad chiefs. In an assertive tone he demanded the account of his territories in Bundelkhand that remained after the cession of 36 lakhs to the Company urgently pressed for the settlement of his claims against the Nizam while his ministers urged the Peshwa's claims in Hindustan and demanded their consent for his granting of sanads for his possession of Dhar.[74]

The situation as it developed infuriated Elphinstone beyond measure. The Shastri till then had been a very valuable tool in the hands of the British because of his knowledge of all the imperialistic intrigues of the British acquired during his long service in the Company he was much "respected and feared,"[75] in the British circle. His adherence to the Peshwa could have proved an invaluable assert to the Maratha side at a time when the Peshwa with all the abilities at his command was trying to unite the

Marathas against the British. Elphinstone therefore was determined that the Shastri should not be "brought over" by the Peshwa.[76]

At Nasik when all the preparations for the marriage ceremony were well advanced, the Shastri at the eleventh hour postponed the marriage. There is absolutely no doubt that the Shastri was forced to it, not as Elphinstone claims, because, "the Shastri was anxious to avoid a connection which would have the appearance of neglecting his master's interests to provide for his own",[77] but because of the threatening opposition of Elphinstone. The latter accused him of neglecting his "master's interests" and pointed out to him, "in the strongest light the imprudence of making himself the minister of the Peshwa.[78] Obviously, there took place some heated exchange of words between Elphinstone and the Shastri. But instead of being repressed and cowed by the sharp reprimands of Elphinstone the spirited, haughty Shastri retaliated by telling Elphinstone that thereafter he would have nothing to do with him regarding the Peshwa's negotiations.[79]

Because of these developments the Peshwa abruptly terminated his stay at Nasik and on 6th July he proceeded on his usual pilgrimage to the holy city of Pandharpur for the "Ekadashi" festival of the month of Ashad. The Shastri again accompanied him, and as stated by Elphinstone himself, "peremptorily refused to allow his colleague Bapu Mairal to accompany him to Pandharpur" and Elphinstone himself was dissuaded from accompanying the Peshwa.[80] Hence Elphinstone decided to go to Ellora.

At Pandharpur, on the 14th July (1815) Gangadhar Shastri returned from an entertainment given by one Ramchandra Gossain and complained of indisposition. In the evening Trimbakji sent one of his messengers Lakshman Pant to invite the Shastri to come to the temple for prayer with him. The Shastri being indisposed at first declined the offer, but as the request was twice more repeated - the Shastri decided to go. He was accompanied by a few attendants. The Shastri entered the temple performed his devotions, chatted a few minutes with Trimbakji Dengle and then proceeded towards his house. On his way back he was attacked by some people and killed.[81]

Henry Pottinger, the officer incharge of Pune informed Elphinstone, who was at Ellora about the murder of Gangadhar Shastri. Elphinstone with his characteristic skill of understanding the situation apprehended that, this was opportune moment to intervene in Maratha politics, and thought the Shastri's death could prove to be useful. This was the only opportunity that could be availed to separate the Peshwa from Trimbakji who was becoming a source of continuous trouble to the British. This murder could be expoliated to widen the existing hatred between the Gaikwad and Peshwa and ultimately lead to separation.

An attempt has been made to show how Elphinstone's imperialistic mind functioned to work out a case to isolate

Trimbakji. Who was entrusted with the great responsibility to conduct the Peshwa's negotiations with the Residency. Trimbakji adopted various disreputable means to advance his master's interest even at the cost of the principles of the alliance with the British. Although the British Government had some control in the internal affairs of Pune State, external relations were not controlled by the British Government. The reverses of the British Government in Nepal and the unsettled state of India indirectly encouraged Trimbakji to put forward his master's claims which were "inconsistent with the position of subordinate alliance to the British Government."[82] Elphinstone therefore realised that unless Trimbakji was eliminated from the political scene, British authority in Maharashtra could not be established. He himself wrote in his journal that he could not oppose him successfully without employing means unconsistent with "the principles of our declared policy."[83]

Elphinstone's Plan to Isolate Trimbakji

Elphinstone immediately after the murder of Gangadhar Shastri, wrote to the Governor General on the 16th August 1815 about the murder and put the entire blame on the Peshwa and his minister Trimbakji. Though Elphinstone was not present, yet the way in which it was written, it appeared as though he was an eye witness. In the Deccan Commissioner's files there are a number of letters written by some people such as Moro Trimbak, Bapu Mairal, Lambaji Khodmutgar etc.[84] who were either present or visited the spot, each one of them gave a different story but they all tried to put the blame on Trimbakji and their letters were fashioned in such a way that it often makes one feel, as though they were written under the pressure of Elphinstone or Pottinger.

The murder of Gangadhar Shastri till today remains a mystery though many historians have tried to resolve it, P.C. Gupta tries to put the blame on Govind Rao Bandhuji, a former servant of the ex-minister Sitaram of Gaikwad.[85] Fateh Singh Gaikwad accused the Peshwa as the party of the crime,[86] while one research scholar tries to prove that Elphinstone was responsible for the murder.[87] Yet it remains for the historians to solve this problem. Whether Elphinstone had a hand in it, is not known, but it is a well known fact that Elphinstone did not like Trimbakji's rise to power. This attitude of Elphinstone can be seen from what he wrote to the Governor General: "Since the last six months i.e. (from March to August 1815) Trimbakji and the Peshwa sought to revive the old Maratha policy from which we succeeded in delivering the greater part of India." He further pointed out the various activities of Trimbakji to destroy the British authority "His system was uniformly to endeavour to keep things quiet in Poona by fair professions to the British Government and to carry all his points abroad by open violence or by barefaced fraud."[88] Some of the proofs of these could be found in his threats to the Nizam and occupation of 'the Nizam's posts', his tone of defiance to Jenkins the Resident of Nagpur and the Raja of Nagpur, his granting asylum to notorious plunderers and instigating various chiefs in Kathiawar to rebel; his perfidious seizure of the chiefs of Patri and Jettoh; his depredations in the lands of the Patwardhans; his intrigues to subvert the Government of Baroda and finally his atrocious murder of a public minister. "All these things," wrote Elphinstone "Are in themselves infractious of the Treaty of Bassein, and they besides show principles so incompatible with our alliance that it is obvious our connections with the Paishwa could not continue while he had such a minister."[89] "His treachery violence and cruelty to the killedar of Dharwar and towards Appaji Rao Nimbalkar and other persons, his language on the chauth of Bengal, the tribute of Mysore and his demand that the British should consult the Peshwa in all their political undertaking - were additional proofs of his attitude towards the British."[90] These activities of Trimbakji were of great hinderence to the expansion of British power in India. Elphinstone frankly admitted that he was "determined on accusing Trimbakji as soon as I had an opportunity"[91] and therefore requested the Governor General to order his immediate arrest, as any delay would give Trimbakji the opportunity to remove all evidence which may lead to his guilt.[92] Besides this Elphinstone was also convinced of the fact that once Trimbakji was out of Maratha politics the Peshwa who was himself a weak and worthless ruler would find it difficult to proceed with his plans. Elphinstone had correctly estimated the character of the Peshwa. "The character of His Highness, the Peshwa" wrote Elphinstone in his report, "has always perplexed those who have been interested in discovering his sentiments or calculating on his conduct. This is partly owing to the inconsistency of many of his inclination with his ruling passion of fear and partly to the deep dissimulation which enables him to concel his real feelings and intentions and to display others which are foreign to his mind."[93] He further added that the Peshwa was a pleasure seeking timid man. Though he was very eager for power lacked the boldness to acquire and retain it. He was proud and suspicious minded, but at the same time was fond of the "company of low dependants where he can enjoy his superiority unresisted." He was very selfish in nature and to suit his purposes there was "no meanness to which he will not descend."[94] He was vindicative to the extreme and he could never forget an injury and spared "no mechanism to ruin the object of his resentment. The Peshwa was a very superstitious man often doing religious fast and prayers, but his superstition imposed no restraint upon his pleasure seeking nature. He often secretly enjoyed his time with large assemblies of women of rank whose husbands were often punished or rewarded according to their support against or for the act. The fall of Khande Rao Raste and Madhav Rao Raste , Vinchurkar etc. was partly owing to their hostility to this act of enjoyment on the part of the Peshwa."[95]

While the reply of the Governor General was awaited Elphinstone made use of the time to strengthen his case by bribing the natives who supplied him with all the activities of the Peshwa. When Trimbakji and the Peshwa approached one Bapu Chiplunkar a Sahukar to tell him that he should say that Trimbakji did not send repeated messages to the Shastri to come to the temple, he immediately informed Elphinstone through Ballaji Pant Natu who was connected with the residency. Elphinstone reported this to Adams and sent statements by Ballaji Pant Natu, Raoji Maratha, Raghu Doharji, Moro Trimbak Pant, Moro Bhat Gokhale etc. - all incriminating Trimbakji in the murder.[96]

Elphinstone did not suspect Baji Rao is quite evident from what he wrote to Warden the chief Secretary to the Governor that Bapu Mairal should persuade Fateh Singh not to implicate the Peshwa in the murder of the Shastri.[97] Elphinstone to his friend Strachey, also wrote about the murder and said, "I suspect Trimbakji immediately .... on my way I received proofs that satisfied me ... "[98]

The Governor General concurred with Elphinstone's view and gave him the liberty to take whatever steps that were essential for the arrest of Trimbakji. Besides that he even directed the Bombay Government to give military assistance if necessary. Col. Smith and Doveton were to assist him with their contigents.[99] The Cutch expedition was given up, so that the troops could be utilised for assisting Elphinstone in Puno.[100] With this assurance given Elphinstone became all the more demanding, and adopted a very threatening attitude. He said that if the Peshwa continued to have Trimbakji in office and amass troops he would have to take immediate action.[101] The Peshwa tried his best to prove Trimbakji innocent of the crime and asserted that if Elphinstone could prove that Trimbakji had sent words thrice to the Shastri, "to come to the temple with attendants," then he would punish him immediately as "convicted of the crime."[102] To this Elphinstone replied that he was willing to prove it, but only when Trimbakji was imprisoned. He could talk in an assertive tone because he had strengthened his position. He prepared an ultimatum and sent it to the Peshwa on the 4th September 1815, demanding the arrest of Trimbakji and if he failed to do so they would be compelled to summon troops to Puno.[103] This worried the Peshwa so much that he and his chiefs sat all night pondering over the course that could be adopted. The next morning Sadashiv Mankeshwar was sent to Elphinstone with a proposal that the Peshwa was ready to arrest Trimbakji, provided his life would be spared. But Elphinstone refused to come to any terms unless Trimbakji was put under confinement.[104] The minister tried his best to make a last minute effort to conciliate Elphinstone but it was of no use and finally the Peshwa resolved to submit. On 19th September 1815 Trimbakji was taken into custody, and as decided by Elphinstone he was sent to the fort of Thana. The garrison of Thana was reinforced and the commandent of the fort received strict orders to prevent any letters from reaching Trimbakji.[105]

Inspite of all these happenings the Gaikwad problem remained unsolved. Like Shores, Elphinstone too had come to the conclusion that the Maratha Confederacy could only be destroyed or broken if the Pune Government was separated from the Gaikwad. - This point he has made clear in his letter to Carnack. The Resident of Baroda." ... I think this is for the Gaykwad's own interest (even if he were to give up 7 lakhs of country) but at all events it is for our interest and our great object in the present adjustment ought I think to be to break off all (future) connection between the Paishwa and the Gaykwad."[106] He further suggests that, "There is a modification of this plan which would be more acceptable to the Gaykwad and which perhaps might strengthen our interests at Baroda by enabling us to keep the Paishwa's claims hanging over the Gaykwad's. The plan I allude to is to get some settlement of the arrears of tribute and some restraint on the Paishwa's power of interference with the Gaykwad and leave a tribute still payable by the latter prince... I should be glad to see the Paishwa renounces all his claims for territorial cession."[107] Thus this proves that Elphinstone wanted to keep the two far apart. He also realised that these activities of his would antagonise the Peshwa. This particular incident marked the climax of their relationship and the barrier between the two widened. The Peshwa too realise that the expected crisis was fast approaching. But his first and most important objective was to rescue Trimbakji from the clutches of the British. For he knew too well that without his help it would be difficult for him to wage a war against the British.

The Peshwa Prepares for Revenge

After the surrender of Trimbakji the Peshwa with earnestness applied himself to the task of attaining the goodwill and co-operation of all the Maratha chiefs for his cause and to restore Maratha Confederacy that had so long fallen into decay.[108] With this end in view Nagopant Aba, the new sirsubha of the Peshwa in Gujerat on the way to Ahmedabad, was directed especially to visit Baroda and in consultation with the Gaikwad to act accordingly. Nagopant Aba was also to convey to the Gaikwad that the Peshwa had succeeded in arriving at an understanding with Shinde and Holkar and that he was the only chief among the Maratha powers with whom confidential understanding had yet to be effected.[109] Special agents were deputed to all the Maratha Courts to persuade the chiefs to join the proposed coalition. The Peshwa's communication were made either by means of camel harcarrahs or by special foot messengers who carried small javalins. Each court had painted them differently so that they could be easily recognised, if they needed any necessary aid on route.[110] The Maratha chiefs responded to the Peshwa's call, for they too like the Peshwa had been humiliated by the British. Hence they all decided to put up a united front against them. The preservation of the Peshwa's supremacy became as reported by Elphinstone ~~became~~ "the steady and fixed principle of their policy."[111]

The Peshwa's vakil at the Shinde's Court was treated by Shinde with "profound respect". The vakils from Nagpur, Jodhpur, Bharatpur etc. arrived at Gwalior and expressed their readiness to co-operate in the military undertaking of the Peshwa against the British".[112] A special envoy, Gopal Ganesh was deputed by the Peshwa to north India to establish contacts with Ranjit Singh of Lahore and also with the rulers of Kashmir and Kabul and the Gurkas with a view to organise them for a simultaneous rising against the British.[113] Attempts were also made to secure the friendship and co-operation of the Raja of Mysore, Rajput princes and of the Nizam were also made for which purpose Raoji Parasuram was deputed to the court of the Nizam.[114] The Peshwa was himself urged to lead, "the Maratha Confederacy".[115]

In 1815 Jenkins from Nagpur, Metcalfe from Delhi, Close from Gwalior and Carnac from Baroda reported to Elphinstone about the secret correspondence and contacts of the Peshwa with those courts.[116] While Strachey in his letter to Elphinstone describes, "the precarious nature of the British power in India", and shows the pressing necessity of adopting measures, "for the countering perils of their situation." He emphasised that the British military strength should be organised and increased for several reasons. "The military states of India after the Goorka war might take measures of precautions against those states indespensable in self-defence. But the failure of the British Northern campaign might create adverse impression of British military strength in them and they in turn might offer successful opposition against the British."[117] Therefore he suggested to Elphinstone that a cautious attention of the British government should be directed towards "Dewlut Row, Bhossla, Holkar, Amer Khan and other chiefs and a show of military strength was a need of the time~~[116]~~ on the part of the British."[118] The object of the war wrote Strachey could not be attained by negotiation at the time. "The arms is not only desirable, but has now become an essential point." He further pointed that, "The expenses of the last ten years showed that the British could not stand as only spectators of the events that were taking place in India. Interference on the part of the British was a crying need of the time. The states of India were quarreling among themselves, political chaos and turbulence forced themselves on our notice."[119] Therefore wrote Strachey that he was of the opinion that by maintaining "our (British) character for superiority in military powers", the British should retain her commanding situation which they were enjoying more than a decade. Lastly to insure

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success and permanence of British power and to end the lawless situation the British should take every care for example, (1) for rewarding the allies, through mediation and arbitration and settlement (2) maintaining British political influence and military supremacy over others.[120] Strachey also wrote that this was the best time for them to establish their authority, "for Napoleon's authority from Europe had vanished, but that now that of Russia was rising," but Russia he wrote “would not be as trouble some to them as France.”[121] Elphinstone fully concurred with Strachey's opinion that this was the most appropriate moment for the British to establish their authority and expressed his concerned over the rapid change of things that were taking place in the Maratha State. In view of this he wrote to the Governor General, "Our policy is also diametrically opposite to the Peshwa's, as his great interest is to preserve the Maratha Confederacy which it is our object to destroy. Our conduct in this respect is the more invidious because the Maratha chiefs are constantly professing ~~122~~ to acknowledge him for their part.”[122] Elphinstone further in his letter frankly admitted that he interfered whenever there was a, "constant applications and entreaties from persons who require our assistance. The following are the cases in which it is infringed, some persons who are all the Peshwa's nominees or they would not have required to be guaranteed. These are Amrit Rao, and his numerous dependants, the Killedar of Sagar, Nana

Fadnavis's widow and the Southern Jagirdars. Our interference with these people was brought about by the Peshwa's inability to settle with them without our assistance."[123] Thus this letter gives a clear picture of Elphinstone's motive. Information and advice was supplied to him not only by the various British Residents but also from his extremely quick efficient espionage system.

Espionage System of Elphinstone

Elphinstone had an organised espionage system. He had his agents at every Native Court. Akhers poured in from all directions. Captain Briggs, who was acquainted with languages, was employed in making translations. Briggs gives an idea of how this system worked in his own words, "At the time I speak of, we had a regular postal communication with several capitals of these chiefs; and as the whole of that department was under our own Post Master at Poona, it was not difficult, in a great degree to depend on their reports, which were occasionally checked by sending confidential agents along each line, under the plea of paying these intelligencers and to report circumstantially the actual state of affairs."[124] Elphinstone also found out the way the Peshwa formed his contacts, and of how his espionage worked. He also managed to find out name of the persons who were employed in the Residency, and whom the Peshwa tried to bribe, but Elphinstone was smarter than him "and took care to make use of them for his own purpose."[125]

e.g. The Peshwa tried to win over Balaji Pant Natu who was the most intelligent of all British employees by offering him a gift of Rs. 2,000, if he could procure Trimbakji's pardon.[126] But he did not change in loyalty to the British Government and continued to inform Elphinstone of each and every movement of the Peshwa and his court. Another notable traitor, who for selfish ends betrayed his master, was one Vithoba Diwanji the sirsuba of Kathiawad posing to be a friend of the Peshwa's secret envoy, Fatia Furnavees, and extracted all possible information from him. Then he dutifully reported it to Resident Carnac of Baroda, who in turn, kept Elphinstone informed to the Peshwa's moves in Gujarat. This Diwanji was encouraged to pursue his treacherous mission, "with the greatest secrecy and caution."[127]

Letters at times were intercepted. One such important letter written by Dadjiba Deshmukh fell into Elphinstone's hand. It revealed the pathetic condition of the Maratha Princes of the day: "At this time the whole Empire is in confusion. No person has any concert or understanding with his neighbour. You know the views of this Court. On what do we depend? On Scindia, Holcar and Bosla. Of them Bosla's hands and feet have swelled and his life is dispaired. Holcar's troops are not united. His territory has been parcelled out in surinjams for troops and in consequence every man has secured all that he could for himself and now makes out that he has not enough to pay his contingent and keeps up constant churons for the balance. The prince is a child, and the representative of the family a woman; and the ministers are for occupying each his place and promoting the public good among them. At the same time the overweening power of the British in all parts of the country and the general impression of it that is felt keep all other powers in awe so that each sits without energy in his own place and takes no interest in his neighbour. At present Holcar's Government is really in great disorder, do you write to Scindia and desire him to send some person of consequence with two bankers, to assemble all Holcar's ministers, some of whom are in camp, some at Cota, and some at other places and through them to make the banker's lend 5 or 10 lacks of rupees and restore the stability of the Government. After which let Scindia, Holcar and Bosla, the three, remain united assisting each other as occasion requires, each being alert in his own station, removing any disputes there may have arisen among themselves, let them protect their ryots and keep up the importance of their own Government and watch over the prosperity of the Peshwa's Empire...."[128]

The conditions in Berar were no better. "Badjiba laments the disorders due to the infirmities of the new Raja, the youth of Appa Saheb and the incapacity of the ministers. He next notices the Pindaries having spread all over and reaching the extreme south and goes on to state with great details the positions occupied by the British troops for intercepting their progress. This massive army, according to Dadjiba, besides crushing the Peshwa and breaking the Pindari menace, may have other plans."[129]

The purpose of this letter was all too clear to Elphinstone. He knew the British policy too well and he knew what the Maratha Princes were struggling to do. He wrote on the 15th May, 1816 to the Governor-General. In the present disposition of the three Courts... alluded to would have a strong tendency to produce that connection between all the Maratha States which it is a principal object of our foreign policy to prevent and to which Government wisely resisted every approach, even on occasions, when all ground for uneasiness, on that head, appeared the most remote."[130]

While Elphinstone was busy planning out a policy for British intervention in Maratha affairs news arrived that Trimbakji, the most feared, had made a daring escape from imprisonment, inspite of heavy security measures which naturally perturbed him. There are various versions regarding the escape of Trimbakji. Some records state that a constable sang a song, in which he conveyed the message, that a horse was standing and he (Trimbakji) should jump and escape. While another record states that a hole was made in the wall of a stable and Trimbakji escaped. While still- another record found in the India Office states that a doctor used to visit Trimbakji when he was ill and through him Trimbakji was trying to escape.

But he demanded Rs.10,000 for the job; to discuss the matter the Peshwa went to dine with him.[131] Just three days after this meeting Trimbakji escaped. Elphinstone's quick and efficient secret service gave the news on the same day, i.e. 16th September 1816 stating that "Trimbakji's escape was not known publicly in the town till this morning and I suspect that Mahomd Haneef's letters last night gave the first intimation of it."[132] It is said that the Peshwa met Trimbakji within a few miles of Pune. Elphinstone on hearing the news immediately conveyed his displeasure and addressed remonstrance to the Pune Court. The Peshwa and his ministers denied any knowledge of Trimbakji's whereabouts. With the lapse of time the Peshwa's gathering troops increased and the plot began to take shape against the British.

The Peshwa Prepares for the War

Funds in currency and gold were supplied to Trimbakji by the Peshwa in large quantities through various agencies. It appears that some bankers at Pandharpur were in league with the Peshwa and Trimbakji, through whom amounts were made available to the latter.[133] The Peshwa also pressed his various sardars such as Bapu Gokhale, Aba Purandare, Raste etc. to hasten up with their recruitment campaign.[134] Elphinstone was informed by one of his secret service men about the exsistence of a latent insurrection under Trimbakji Dengle in the neighbourhood of Mahadev Hills and of 'the

Peshwa's connivance if not actual abetment of that measure.'[135] The Peshwa had placed great reliance on the solid support from Shinde. Balaji Kunjar Shinde's minister was taking an active part. He met Chintu and other Pindari leaders at Nemwar with a view to uniting the Pindaris in a concerted attack on the British.[136]

Elphinstone being a man of great foresight immediately sensed the coming danger. The first thing that he did before taking a decision was to ask Col. Smith to order his 4th and 8th regiments of light cavalry to move into the neighbourhood of Purandar, the light battalion into that of Ahmednagar and requested the Resident at Hyderabad to post Major Macdowell in the neighbourhood of Tuljapur.[137] He even realised that this was the most appropriate time to hit hard, as he had planned. Elphinstone's imperialistic view on expansion can be observed from what he wrote to his uncle Lord Keith. "We have long since ...... ascendancy over the whole of India .... we have all the odium without the energy of a conquering people, and all the responsibility of an extensive empire without its resources, or its military advantages .. and the money expended in any one year on our present defensive system would probably have been sufficient to crush all our enemies and to give us a solid and compact empire to defend."[138] His anxiousness for expansion can also be seen in his letter to the Governor General, in which he says 'they could quieten the Peshwa on the plea that he was engaged in a deliberate conspiracy against the British.'[139] And under this pretext alone could they force the Peshwa into a new treaty which would render him utterly weak and innocuous. The Governor General gave his approval for conducting operations against the Peshwa. Before making any demand on the Peshwa, he wanted to tighten his position. In consultation with Col. Smith Elphistone chalked out a plan for military operations. Then requested the Bombay Government to order their requirements to co-operate with the Poona subsidiary force in quelling 'the rising of Trimbakji and overthrowing the Peshwa's capital'.[140]

Elphinstone accused the Peshwa for his activities, and forced him to issue a proclaimation to arrest Trimbakji. The Peshwa of course tried to justify his stand by saying that it was being done especially against the Pinderies and called Elphinstone his "personal friend".[141] But Elphinstone acted very firm and the Peshwa was forced to issue a proclaimation 'to arrest Trimbakji - but Elphinstone was not satisfied with its wording.[142] Elphinstone had come to understand that only a war would make the Peshwa quiet.

Elphinstone Prepares for the War

India was on the eve of a great event in which Elphinstone was to play a considerable part. At the call of duty he gave up everything and he stood forth as the soldier, statesman, who upheld his country's interest with wisdom and honour during the trying period of Indian history.

From April 1817 preparations for war were taken up by the British with full vigour though in secrecy. All the British officers, in general, knew that war against the Peshwa was certain. The Governor General in his minute of 10th May 1817 very clearly stated that being compelled to proceed against the Peshwa as "a public enemy and to deprive him of his possessions and authority."[143]

Elphinstone inquired from Captain Southernland who was at that time taking a survey of the land, of what would be the yield of the Peshwa's dominion and even remembered to inquire the position of the town, produce characteristic features of the country. He laid great emphasis on the information regarding the forts of the Peshwa. He also called for the maps of the Konkan area.[144] By the end of May all military preparations of the British, including all details regarding maps and sketches of the march routes and passes in the Maratha Country were complete.[145] All issues arising right from the extermination of the Peshwa including the place of his exile after defeat and the arrangements to be made about the Government of Poona were systematically thrashed out with typical attitude of British thoroughness and farsighted in planning.[146] Orders were even issued to the Government of Bombay to keep themselves in readiness for the seizure of the whole of the Peshwa's possessions in Gujrat and in Northern Konkan and the Madras Government was instructed to occupy the

Southern portion of his possessions below the ghats by the movement of their troops from Canara.[147] Col. Smith had been furnished with a detailed plan of the city of Pune with all its outlets, drawn up for, the occasion by the vaccinating surgeon Dr. Coats.

While the plans for the destructions of the Peshwa were in progress they talked of "the chance of bringing the Peshwa to the sense of his duty,"[148] The purpose was to give an impression to the people that he was a faithless erring inferior officer who was to be brought to task for his misdemeanour.

Elphinstone with his characteristic skill of understanding people apprehended the motive of the Peshwa and took pre-cautionary measures which he thought proper. The talk between the Peshwa and Elphinstone failed. The latter refused the concession demanded by Elphinstone. Elphinstone now furthered his demand from the surrender of Trimbakji to the immediate cession of three important forts. "Twenty-four hours were allowed to the Prince to come to a decision and if the terms were not accepted hostilities would commence."[149] The Peshwa though tried to delay it but inevitably gave in. Finally the Treaty of Poona was signed on the 13th June 1817.

The Treaty of Poona 13th June 1817

The Treaty of Poona reduced the authority of the Peshwa to practically negligible. According to this treaty:

(1) the Peshwa had to acknowledge the guilt of Trimbakji as the murderer of Gangadhar Shastri. The Peshwa had to close all correspond with foreign states and was forced to acknowledge complete dependence upon British power, with the surrender of all claims to the titular headship of the Maratha Empire. (2) He also relinquished all claims and rights upon the Raja of Kolhapur and Sawant Wadi; plus he was also forced to give up all past claims and future demands on the Baroda Government. (3) The treaty of Pandharpur made with the jagirdars was confirmed and was declared to be binding on both the parties. (4) The Peshwa was now required to place at the disposal of the British Government sufficient funds for the payment of a body of troops of the required number, with sufficient ordinance and military stores. (5) For this purpose the Peshwa was asked to cede to the British Government in perpetuity territories in the Deccan, including Dharwar and other parts of Karnatak, north Konkan and the tribute of Kathiawad to the extent of a net revenue of Rs.34,000,00 a year. (6) The Peshwa was further expected to cede in perpetual Sovereignty the fort of Ahmednagar, all his rights interests or pretensions, feudal, territorial or pecuniary in Bundelkhand, all the rights and territories in Malwa and generally all rights and claims of every denomination which he might possess in the country north of the Narmada. He was to pledge himself never to interfere in the affairs of Hindustan.[150]

This Treaty proved the diplomatic skill of Elphinstone, who without using the sword managed to bring the Peshwa to his knees. He got for his Government all the strategic position such as Bundelkhand, Ahmednagar etc. which were of great importance for regulating operations against the Maratha Chiefs. So that if there would be a war, they would be in a position to take charge of the Peshwa's territories without much difficulty. An unjust and uneasy treaty had been imposed on the Peshwa, which had lowered his prestige and power as the head of the State. Elphinstone too had realised this fact for he himself wrote in his journal that he had to prepare for enmity and open hostility of the Prince in the near future."[151] The Governor-General too had the same feeling for he wrote to Elphinstone "I refer .... that the Peshwa was engaged in conspiracy, hostile to British honour and that henceforth our aim must be to strengthen our military position in the territory....."[152]

After signing the Treaty of Poona the very next day Elphinstone received information that Sir T. Hislop was appointed to the general control of the Deccan. He had to conduct both the war with the Pindaris in central India and the Marathas in case hostility with the Peshwa broke out. Elphinstone felt very hurt at this for it was due to his effort that the Treaty was brought about and now someone else was asked to preside over the final drama. He wrote to his cousin Adams who was the secretary of the

Governor General about it and said that it was all Malcolm's doings, who was always looking for an opportunity to add everything to his credit. But later on repented for having done so, for he thought that it was his duty to serve and obey his Government.[153]

As soon as Sir Thomas Hislop took up charge as the Commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Deccan Elphinstone immediately supplied him with a detailed information regarding the Peshwa's resources, revenues, army, officers etc. and also about the character of the Peshwa and his chiefs.[154]

At this time the Governor-General had no intention to have a rupture with the Peshwa. As the Pinderies in Central India were creating to much trouble for them and the Governor General was of the opinion that all British forces should be concentrated in this part of India. Malcolm who had met the Peshwa on the 5th August 1817 too was of the same opinion. He said that the Peshwa looked "careworn" and "showed no designs to provoke the hostility of the British, but the nature of the alliance was distasteful to him he was weak rather than a vicious prince.[155] While only three weak battalions of the Bombay infantry under Col. Burr a battalion of the Poona Brigade the so called subsidiary force under Major Ford and two companies of Bengal Sepoys was all that was left to protect Poona.[156]

The Peshwa now wiser, seeing that Lord Hastings mind was completely diverted towards the Pindaries and also seeing how denude Poona was of British troops, he took advantage of the situation and speedily started preparing his army for a surprise attack.

Poona on The Eve Of War

In the city of Poona people were taking great precaution, they had taken away the jewels from their wives and daughters. During the whole of October 1817 Baji Rao continued to collect troops from all parts of the country and also called upon his jagirdars to do the same. The Peshwa continued his contacts with the neighbouring princes. The Chhatrapati and his family were placed at the fort of Wassota under the pretext of greater security but in reality it was done to make his communication with Elphinstone more difficult.[157] Elphinstone was informed by his secret service that Balbaji Kunjar was coming to Pune to try and bring about cordial relations between Shinde and the Bhonsale of Varhad. From an akhbar Elphinstone came to know that Gokhale's vakil, "on pretense of a pilgrimage to Benares, arrived in due course in Scindia's camp, where Resident Close saw him. Throughout those preparation for a war Elphinstone feared an alliance between the Peshwa and Shinde. Close kept him informed of all that was passing between the Poona and Gwalior Courts. But Close was of the opinion that, "Scindiah is in whatever we may require of him to forward our general purpose of security or if he were mad enough to do so, the business would soon be over and would enable us to enlarge our resources to any extent we please."[158] But Elphinstone did not share the same opinion as Close, can be seen from what he wrote his friend Strachey; "The Peshwa" he informed, "was taking advantage of the situation as he knew that the Governor-General was busy planning for a war with the Pindaries and he had even violated the treaty of Poona, and had not surrendered Trimbakji Dengle. His war preparations were going on in full swing." Elphinstone further wrote that the Peshwa was only waiting for an opportunity to see "our countries were laid waste by Pindaries, our troops distracted by them and unsurrection and mountain wars, until we were so exhausted...."[159] Hence Elphinstone was anxious that he should be attacked without delay. These activities of the Peshwa were also brought to the notice of Lord Hastings. But at this moment the latter was in no mood to take up the Maratha question, as his mind was too occupied with the Pindari affairs. Therefore he wanted to keep his hands free from all other hostilities, that is why at this critical hour he could not ask Sir Hislop to divert his attention to the Maratha affairs. But at the same time he did not want to take a risk, therefore he decided to entrust the matter to Elphinstone. The Governor General, revising his earlier decision wrote to Sir Hislop. "I have accordingly judged it expedient to vest that power in Mr. Elphinstone because, the power of deciding and acting on the spot as events arise should exist at Poona."[160] In order to strengthen his position he was given the divisions under the command of Brig. Gen. Smith and Brig. Gen. Pritzler at his disposal for any service that may arise.[161]

Having a free hand in the Maratha affairs, He set about it by interviewing the Peshwa. The latter complained about the loss of territory and reputation he had suffered by the treaty of Poona. During the meeting Elphinstone inquired as to when he would send his troops against the Pindaries. The Peshwa replied immediately after Dessara. This was destined to be the last meeting with the Peshwa.

As expected the Peshwa did not keep his promise and the weeks that followed this meeting were full of bustle and activity. Day and night parties of armed men kept pouring into Poona from all sides.

However not a single activity of the Peshwa escaped from the eyes of Elphinstone. By the end of October 1817, Elphinstone received 'a private message from Balaba Vinchoorker', intimating him about the hostile designs of the Peshwa. Even Raste gave the same information. Moro Dixit, the Peshwa's minister, who regarded himself as a friend of Major Ford, also disclosed to the latter that 'there would speedily be a night attack on the British."[162]

These development urged Elphinstone to act promptly. At Poona he had with him the Bombay infantry under Col. Burr consisting only of three battalions encamped at

Ghorpadi, a battalion of the Poona Brigade of the Peshwa's own troops officered by Europeans under Major Ford stationed at Dapodi, a village at short distance to the west of Poona and two Companies of Bengal sepoys forming the Residents guards.[163] Elphinstone's cautious approach to the British annexations in India is best exemplified in his letter to Col. Close, where in he remarked "There is something alarming in the great strides we are making towards universal dominion. We never before attempted the complete conquest of a country.... If we succeed, all is well; but if we fail, Scindia goes to war, Holkar rebels, the Sikhs and Goorkhas join in, Hyderabad bursts out. The flame spreads to our provinces; some fundamental point is touched, and our whole empire tumbles down like a house of cards...."[164]

Elphinstone had to take all the precautions possible, for he was well aware of the fact that the gulf between him, and the Peshwa had widened so much that now it was too difficult to bridge it, and the Peshwa was only waiting for an opportunity to take revenge. The Peshwa had worked out a plan to kill Elphinstone, before declaring war, as his presence in Poona proved to be an obstacle, for the Peshwa to proceed with his plans. As is apparent from an extract from 'The Bombay Courier' stating: "Mr. Elphinstone had truly a miraculous escape, he was at a Durbar on the morning of the attack on our troops and while in conversation with the Paishwah a man whispered to him in the Ear, that his Horse saddled was at the Door; he took the hint, and the better to conceal his intention of not returning, left his Hat behind him, got to the Horse and road off at speed to the lines..."[165] This was the climax and Elphinstone perceived that soon they would have to face a war - in fact war broke out that very day.

Third Anglo-Maratha War

As the purpose of the study is not to give an analytical account of the war, therefore only a brief survey has been taken and hence certain letters which give interesting accounts of the war are given in the appendix.

On the morning of 5th November 1817 the city of Poona was filled with unusual tumult and commotion. At about 2 p.m. Vittoji Naik, a confidential servant of the Peshwa arrived at the Residency and delivered a message to Elphinstone, from the Peshwa demanding that the European regiment be sent away, the Brigade be reduced to its usual strength and that the cantonment be removed to a place to be pointed out by the Peshwa.[166] The Resident countered by demanding that the Peshwa should send off his troops to the frontier to help the British troops. Vithoji returned without achieving anything. But just after he had returned, it was seen that the Maratha troops had started moving towards British camp. Elphinstone in his own words describes the scene and how they escaped from the Residency. "Within an hour after", wrote Elphinstone, "Out they came with such readiness that we had only time to leave the Sungum with the clothes on our backs, on our backs, and crossing the river at a ford... The Sungum with all the records and all my books, journals, letters, manuscripts & C. were soon in a blaze but we got safe to the Kirkee bridge, and soon after joined the line."[167] Col. Burr had camped at Khadki and was to lead the British forces from there. Elphinstone discussed the situation with him and asked him to attack the Marathas in case the war broke out. This would, he thought, would create confidence among his people, and raise the moral of the troops. However Elphinstone failed to give written orders to Col. Burr, and hence he was hesitating. Captain Grant, the associate of Elphinstone, had realised this omission, and pointed out to his master at the appropriate time. Then after setting fire to the Residency buildings, Bapu Gokhale the Peshwa's commander-in-chief launched his attack upon the British camp Khadki from the plain of Ganesh Khind. Thus started the war.

On the very first day the British put up a brave fight and Moro Dixit was killed in the first cavalry charge. The Peshwa behaved like a coward, did not take part in the war and watched it from the Parvati Hill. General Smith left Bombay with extensive military provisions and reached on the 13th November. On the 14th November a decisive battle took place at Yeravda which ended with the capture of Ghorpadi on 16th November. This ended the battle of

Khadki and the Peshwa fled from Poona.[168] Macleod an officer in the Deccan 1817-1818 in his private journal gives day to-day account of the battle of Khadki of how the war began and how it ended. Pages from his diary which begins from the 1st November to 21st November are given in the appendix.[169] The battle of Khadki did not put an end to the struggle between the English and the Peshwa. The British did not find it easy tracking the Peshwa, as he followed a zig zag route. This made Elphinstone uneasy, he realised that the only way to defeat the Marathas was to attack them from all sides simultaneously. Therefore he wrote to his Government that operations against, the Bhonsles, Holkars and the invasion of the Peshwa's possession in the Konkan, should take place at the appropriate moment. He also suggested to the Governor General that Gen. Munro should be released from the Madras Government and the charge to reduce the Peshwa's country, to the South should be given to him. His request was granted by the Governor-General.[170]

Elphinstone personally took the initiative in directing the further campaigns against the Peshwa. The light cavalry and light infantry of the division under the command of General Pritzler were directed to join with the army under General Smith.

On the 1st January 1818 the British were taken up by a surprise attack on the ground of Koregaon on the Bhima. A battle took place here, in which the British received a set back. After this battle Elphinstone lost all hopes - and realised that seizing the person of the Peshwa was not going to be an easy task. Therefore in his despatch to the Governor General on the 17th January 1818, he proposed that instead of concentrating only on the pursuit of the Peshwa, they should "now emphasise the importance of the capture of Satara, this move would enable the British to create an impression on the mind of the Maratha people." He further stated that 'Satara was the seat of the Chhatrapati and the capital of the Maratha Empire. Therefore the loss of Satara would injure the Peshwa's cause much more than that of any other stronger places'.[171] This would not only prevent the Peshwa from recruiting and refreshing his army but more important still was the impression it would create on the people that he was only a fugitive or a mere adventurer.[172]

In consonance with the suggestion made by Elphinstone, the movements of the British army in February 1818, were directed towards the capture of Satara. On 7th February 1818 Pritzler's force joined the army of Smith and they together besieged Satara on the 10th February 1818. The fort was surrendered to the British the same evening 'after receiving a few shells'.[173]

At noon the British flag was flown but was soon replaced by the Raja's. On 11th February 1818 a Maratha Proclamation was issued by Elphinstone stating the British case against Baji Rao. It declared that the British

Government was compelled to take military measures to drive the Peshwa from his dominions because of his acts of 'perfidy and violence', and that in justice they had decided to restore the Chhatrapati, as a sovereign of the Maratha State, to whom it rightfully belonged.[174] Captain Grant who played an important part in the fall of Satara, gives a fine description of the lull before the fall of Satara and its condition afterwards in his journal,[175] right from 10th February to 22nd May 1818.

The fall of Satara and the subsequent proclamation proved a turning point in the war. Thereafter the British army was divided into two parts, the one under General Pritzler was directed to siege and conquer the Peshwa's fortress. While the one under General Smith was directed to pursue the Peshwa. It appears that Smith was not happy with the orders. In the Munro collection there are many letters which reveal that there was a lot of rivalry between. Smith and Pritzler, both of them wanted to get their names associated with the conquest of the Peshwa's territories.[176] But they put aside their personal differences and carried out their respective orders.

From Blacker's Memoir's it has been observed that the forts between Satara and Poona fell in quick succession. Sinhagad was besieged on the 20th February. By the 2nd March, its garrison of 1200, men hung out the white flag. This was succeeded by the fall of Purander, Vajragad, Chandan, Wandan etc. which fell before the end of March.[177]

Lt.Col. Deacon and Prothers were asked by Elphinstone to conquer the Peshwa's country lying between Pheira and Bhima rivers. Simultaneously Brigadier General Munro over-ran the country,[178] as far south as the Malaprabha.

The British divisions allowed the Peshwa no rest. Apprized of General Smith's advance, he once more turned towards the south, where Munro and Pritzler came on his heels. He then turned towards Pandharpur. At Ashta Bapu Gokhale was overtaken by General Smith and was killed in a stiff action on 19th February 1818.[179] This may be said to have been the last severe engagement of the war, ~~since,~~ and with the death of his faithful commander, the Peshwa lost all hopes of recovering his position, and his jagirdars too had come to the same conclusion. Therefore after this battle they submitted, and send their respective vakils to Munro asking for an agreement.[180] The greatest irony was that the Chhatrapati himself joined the British.[181] Thus the king of the Maratha State himself betrayed the cause of the nation.

The battle of Ashta brought the entire country of the Peshwa under the control of the British, yet it could not be regarded as yet the end of the war in the legal sense as the Peshwa had not submitted officially. Though from Grants letter to Munro it appears that they had become confident of Peshwa's submission as he had not more than 2000 fighting men, the grain was being sold at 1½ seer per Rupee in his camp; the situation was deterioring day by day,[182] (More details regarding the condition are given in the appendix).

Elphinstone decided to make a beginning of his work of settlement. He wrote to his Government declaring his intention of issuing a proclamation in the name of the Chhatrapati of having ousted Baji Rao from Peshwaship conquering his territories and of founding a new Sovereignty for the Raja of Satara.[183] Who was formally installed to the throne on 10th April 1918 and a proclamation was issued in his name.

The pursuit of the Peshwa continued. The Peshwa was now completely isolated. He had some hopes of getting help from the Raja of Nagpur, but unfortunately by now he too was defeated and dethroned after the battle of Sitabardi, and the Holkars were defeated in the battle of Mahidpur. Baji Rao had now nowhere to go. He was a fugitive but the chase continued. On the 13th May 1818 Malcolm finally managed to meet him, he asked him to submit and even explained to him the terms of the Treaty and offered to pay him a pension of Rs. 8 lakhs.[184] The Governor General did not approve of Malcolm's proposal as he felt 2 lakhs would have been enough. Malcolm was hurt, at this attitude of the Governor General. He explained that his offer of Rs. 8 lakhs was due to the fact, that, his brother Amrit Rao was receiving a pension of Rs. 7 lakhs from the Government. Therefore he thought that it would be an insult to Baji Rao, if they gave him a pension less than or even equal to Amrit Rao. Elphinstone also concurred with this view of Malcolm but took a diplomatic stand, he wrote to Sir Evan Nepean, the Governor of Bombay. "Considering Bajee Rao's merits and the manner in which he is likely to employ our bounty, eight lacks of rupees is a large stipend for him, but it is a reasonable bargain to purchase a quiet abdication and to put an end to the war."[185] He wrote comfortingly to Malcolm that he was 'much annoyed' by the Supreme Government's attitude.[186] Exasperated and exhausted, Bajirao surrendered to the British on June 3, 1818 bringing the story of Maratha statehood to an end. Baji Rao was exiled from Maharashtra and was given a pension of Rs. 8 lakhs and was asked to reside at Bithur on the bank of Ganga.[187]

This treaty brought the 3rd and the last Anglo-Maratha war to an end. Several factors led to the eclipse of Maratha power in the early nineteenth century. The failure of the Marathas as a people to continue the path of national regeneration as envisaged by Shivaji's political movement. The Maratha Confederates never tried to work for a union for them their own personal interest came first and the country's interest last. The Peshwa's incapacity to evolve a permanent line of unified political command, an utter neglect of science and lack of spirit of inquiry and such other negative factors of Maratha polity cost the Marathas their independence. Baji Rao who headed the Maratha state at this juncture failed to prevent the final act of destruction of Maratha power as he lacked qualities of leadership. As contrasted with the poor quality of Maratha leadership during this period, the calibre of four succeeding British residents in Poona - Malet, Palmer, Close and especially Elphinstone - was marked out by brilliant achievements in diplomacy and statecraft.

However, Blacker in his Memoirs under estimates the role of Elphinstone in the war and gives all the credit to T. Hislop. He does not even mention his name in this struggle. Elphinstone did not like this attitude of Blacker as can be seen from his letter to Grant on 24th April 1822.[188]

Elphinstone in Pune did not spare any weapon to consolidate their position in Maharashtra. The entire war was planned out by him and he had tried to be present in as many sieges as possible. The game of bribery intrigue and subversion was alternated with the play, of outward submission, ostentation of friendship and flattery. Therefore, reviewing his work as Resident, it can be said that Elphinstone who had come to Pune with a firm belief in morality rather than expediency, as the basis of politics, could only console himself by saying that it was, 'a lucky mistake' which the Peshwa committed, that involved him in this war.[189] This was no exceptional case, for it has been observed throughout the history of British India; that the dividing line between British morality and British expediency has always been very thin.

British conquest of Maharashtra represented a forcible imposition of an alien rule effected through external violence on a slow moving decadent social order of the Marathas. And because in the early nineteenth century, society in Great Britain represented the most progressive and highly developed social order, it was inevitable that the morality of the British colonial rulers was far ahead of the political morality of the decadent feudal chiefs of Maharashtra.

Therefore it can be pointed out that the intrigues and manipulative skill of Elphinstone alone could not build the British ascendancy in Maharashtra. Above everything the superior methods of organisation on the battlefield by the British Generals such as Hislop, Munro, Smith, Pritzler, Prother etc. - too should be given their share of credit because being seasoned men in war they were able to carry out orders implicity without blundering - which helped the Company to defeat the Marathas and establish its supremacy in the Indian sub-continent.

NOTES

1. Colebrooke, T.E. Life of The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, London, 1884, Vol. I, p.230.
2. Ketelby C.D.M. A History of Modern Times from 1789 - 4th edn. Oxford University Press, Bombay 1- 1965 p. 122.
3. Ibid.
4. Sardesai, G.S. - New History of The Marathas, Vol. III, Bombay 1948, p.43.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Poona Residency Correspondance Vol. II, Poona Affairs, Malets Embassy, Ed. Sardesai, G.S. Bombay 1936, p.3.
8. Sardesai, G.S. New History of the Marathas. Vol. III. p.198.
9. P.R.C. Vol. II, p.20.
10. P.R.C. Vol. VI, Poona Affairs, 1797-1801. Palmer's Embassy, ed. Sardesai, . . Bombay, 1939, p.II.
11. P.R.C. Poona Affairs, 1801-1810, Close's Embassy. Ed. Sardesai, G.S. Bombay 1940, pp. IX-X.
12. Sen, S.N. Anglo-Maratha Relations 1785-96, Macmillan, 1974, p. 303.
13. Choksey, R.D. Diplomatic Relations at the Court of the Peshwa, 1786-1818 Poona, 1945, p. 342.
14. Ravinder Kumar: "Western India in the Nineteenth

Century", Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968. p.44.

15. Choksey, R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone. The Indian Years, 1796-1827, Bombay, 1971, p. 40.

16. Strachey Papers : MSS EUR F128 Box 7. Elphinstone to Governor General, Poona, 20-11-1815.

17. Ibid.

17A. Trimbakji loyally and actively assisted the Peshwa in his struggle to free himself from the galling servitude of the British. Trimbakji Dengle whose name was destined to shrouded deliberately and entirely, unjustly by his enemies in utter ignoming and disgrace.

18. Grant, D. History of the Marathas, Vol. III. Indian Reprint Bombay, 1863, p. 206.

19. Forrest, G.W. Selections from the Minutes and other official Writing of Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, p. 42.

20. Strachey Papers: MSS EUR F128 Box 7, Elphinstone to Strachey, Poona, 20-11-1815.

21. Colebrooke T.E. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 292.

22. MSS EUR F88 Box III G. Elphinstone to Robertson, 1-8-1818.

23. Foreign Department, Cons. No. 11. Elphinstone to Adam, 21-6-1817. (Appendix No. 1).

24. Khare, Aitihasik Lekhasangraha. Vol. XV. p. 8063.

25. Bevan Major H, Thirty years in India. Vol. II

London 1839, p. 225.

26. Poona Gazetter Part II, p. 292.

27. Colebrooke, T.E. op.cit. Vol. I. p. 294.

28. Strachey Papers: MSS EUR F128 Box 7. Elphinstone to Governor General, Poona, 20-11-1815.

29. Choksey, R.D. Diplomatic Relations at the Court of the Peshwa 1796-1818. p. 342.

30. P.R.C. Vol. VII. p. 213.

31. P.R.C. Elphinstones Embassy. Part I. Vol. XII ed. Sardesai G.S. pp. 8-12.

32. Ibid, p. 8.

33. Ibid, p. 32.

34. Ibid, p. 98.

35. Ibid, p. 12.

36. Ibid, p. 43.

37. Ibid, p. 46.

38. Secret and Political Department Diary No. 278, Elphinstone to Edmonstone, 26-10-1811.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Choksey, R.D. Diplomatic Relations at the Court of The Peshwa 1796-1818, p. 342.

42. Secret and Political Department Diary No. 278, Elphinstone to Edmonstone, Poona, 26-10-1811.

43. P.R.C. XII, p. 109.

44. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, pp. 252 & 291 and P.R.C. XII, p. 192 & p. 210.

45. Political and Secret Department Diary No. 279,
    p. 809.
46. Modak Kolhapur Prantacha Arwachin Itihas, p. 123.
47. P.R.C. XII, p. 130.
48. Ibid, p.165 and
    (a) Karveer Riyasatichi Kagadpatre, Vol. II Ed.
        S.M. Garge, Poona, 1972.
        Vol. III Ed. S.M. Garge, Poona - 1972.
        - a few letters from these two volumes from 1813 to 1823 relate to Elphinstone, but substance of the same also appears in the English records which have been consulted into this thesis.
    (b) Karveer Chhatrapati Gharanyachya Itihasa, Sadhane : Ed. M.V. Gujar, Poona - 1962: It is in 7 volumes, but volumes III, IV & V give some information about Elphinstone and Kolhapur. Vol. III: Letters 413, 416, 417, 425, 430, 432, 446, 450 and 451.
49. Karveer Riyasatichi Kagadpatre, Vol. II. Ed. S.M. Garge Poona, 1972, p.291. In Vol. V - A number of letters of 1813 relate to the discussions held between Swarupji Kshirasagar the Vakeel of Kolhapur and Elphinstone, pp. 2-5, 12, 14, 17, 25, 26, 31, 35, 44, 45, 46.
50. Modak, Kolhapur Prantachi Arwachin Itihas, p.134.
51. P.R.C. XII, p.214.
52. Kolhapur Gazetter, p. 80.

53. Gupta, P.C. Baji Rao and the East India Company. Allied Publishers 1964, p.104.

54. Ibid, pp.105-106 and Karveer Riyasat, op.cit. p.49.

55. Karveer Riyasatichi Kagadpatre, Vol. IV. Ed. S.M. Garge, Letter No. 65, p. 49 gives details of an agreement entered with the Company - regarding Chikodi, Manoli and other matters.

56. Choksey R.D. Diplomatic Relations at the Court of the Peshwa, p. 373.

57. Aitchison C.U. A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries op.cit. Vol. VI, pp.56-57.

58. Gupta, P.C. op.cit. p.117.

59. The British were so much taken up with the idea that even though Trimbakji did not go personally, and sent his nominee Narasinh, yet they felt that it was better not to take a risk. -

Choksey, R.D. Diplomatic Relations at the Court of the Peshwa, p.376.

60. P.R.C. XII, pp.276-277.

Babi(?) Babati - any item of revenue or extra cess imposed upon some especific thing.

61. P.R.C. XII, pp.275-92.

62. P.R.C. XII, p.336.

63. Gangadhar Shastri had entered the British service in 1803, nominated as confidential medium with the darbar on a salary of Rs. 100.

Nihand Sangraha Vol. III. Ed. V.S. Bendre, Bombay, 1966, pp.148-170 - Gives an autobiographical sketch of Gangadhar Shastri before he joined the Baroda Residency - appears in the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Quarterly Vol. III. No. 1, 1922, pp.17-41. It was written by the Shastri at the instance of Major Walker, the Resident of Gujrat by about 1802.

64. Gupta P.C. op.cit. p.130.

65. Peshwa Daftar, Poona, Deccan Commissioner's File Vol. No. 374. Warden (Secretary to Governor) to Elphinstone 29-4-1815.

66. Ibid.

67. D.C. File Vol. I Warden to Elphinstone, 11-4-1815.

68. D.C. File Vol. I Warden to Elphinstone 6-4-1815.

69. Ibid.

70. P.R.C. XII, p.342.
By which he obviously meant the British.

71. Gaikwads of Baroda, Vol. IX. Anandrao Gaikwad 1814-1819 ed. J.H. Gense & D.R. Banaji, Bombay - 1944, p.191.

72. P.R.C. XII, p.392 and Poona Gazetteer II, p.294.

73. P.R.C. XII, p.392, Prinsep, I, p.287.

74. P.R.C. XII, pp.374-375.

75. Sardesai G.S. Uttar Vibhag, Vol. III, p.384.

76. Basu Major B.D. Rise of Christian Power in India - Calcutta, p.233.

77. P.R.C. XII, p.393.

78. P.R.C. XII, p.393.

79. Ibid.

80. Forrest G.W. Official Writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone pp.137-138 and P.R.C. XII, p.394.

81. Ibid, pp.138-141.
The accepted date of the Shastri's murder is incorrect. Elphinstone believed it to be the 14th July and the same has been accepted by later writers, including Grant Duff and Prinsep. But in the Company's records, the date is given as the 19th July. In the translation of a letter to Bapu Mairal from Moro Trimbak, who was with the Shastri at Pandharpur written two hours after the Shastri's death, the date appears as 'Ashar Shood 14th (Thursday 20th July) and there is quite a possibility that Elphinstone while going through the inquiry has confused the Indian 14th Ashar with the English corresponding date. The date given by Bapu Mairal appears to be correct for it gives the same date in English as well as Indian calendar. Sardesai too believed that the Shastri was murdered on 20th July 1815.

82. Colebrooke T.E. op.cit. Vol. I, p.294.

83. Ibid.

84. D.C. File Vol. 114.

85. Gupte, P.C. op.cit. pp.137-139.

86. D.C. File Vol. I, Carnac to Warden 19-8-1815.

87. Bharatiya Itihas and Sanskrit periodical - Gangadhar Shastri - The Mystery of the Murder of - by Prof. Suman G. Vaidya. Niband Sangraha Vol. III. Ed. V.S. Bendre, Bombay, 1968 pp.148-170.
88. P.R.C. XII. Elphinstone to Governor-General, pp.385-386.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid and Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, pp.296-99.
91. Ibid.
92. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone p.158.
93. Strachey Papers : MSS EUR F128 Box 7. Elphinstone's letter dated 20-11-1815.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Choksey, R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone p.172 and p.164.
97. Choksey R.D. The Last Phase 1815-1818, Bombay 1948, p. 78.
98. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit. p.310.
99. D.C. File Vol. I Adam to Elphinstone - 15-8-1815.
100. D.C. File Vol. I Warden to Elph. 24-8-1815.
101. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone, p.164.
102. Ibid, p.162.
103. Gupta P.C. op.cit, p.140.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid, p.142.
106. MSS EUR F 88 Box 3B.

Elphinstone to Carnack, Poona, 8-8-1816.

107. Ibid.

108. Vaidya S.G. op.cit. p.168.

109. Choksey R.D. The Last Phase, p.96.

110. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit, pp.301-303.

111. P.R.C. XIV, p.305.

112. P.A.C. Rumal 33, Pudake 1, No. 18162.

113. Foreign and Secret Consultation No. 20/1 Jenking to Adams, 8-10-1815.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

116. Choksey R.D. The Last Phase pp.69-70.

117. MSS EUR F88 Box 3B, Strachey to Elphinstone 16-3-1815.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Strachey Papers: MSS EUR F128 Box 7. Elphinstone to Governor General, Poona, 20-11-1815.

123. Ibid.

124. Choksey R.D. op.cit. p.172.

125. Ibid.

Ballaji Pant Natu was an inhabitant of the village of Panchwad near Wai, he came to Pune to serve Khanderao Raste first, as Karkun and after the latter's death, as guardian for his minor sons. As he went to the Residency in the capacity of

Raste's servant he came in contact with British official. By 1809 he entered the Company's service. After Elphinstone's arrival at Pune and with the increasing momentum of British plans against the Peshwa. Natu's importance to the Resident, increased substantially. The high salary of Rs.525 per month that he received, is a proof enough of the value of his services to Elphinstone. He informed Elphinstone of each and every movement of the Peshwa and was one of the persons to give evidence against Trimbakji and in October 1815 he received Rs.3,000 from the Resident for succeeded in corrupting some clerks in the Peshwa's Daftar and in getting access to some of the secret documents of the Pune Government. After the war he was appointed assistant to Political Agent Grant at Satara. For details regarding this see Dr. A.R. Kulkarni's article "Balaji Pant Natu and Grant Duff." (Marathi) in Bharatiya Itihas and Sanskrit Year III. Vol. 9, 1966, pp.74-84.

126. Foreign and Secret Consultation No. 19. Elphinstone to Governor General. 2-12-1815.

127. Choksey, R.D. The Last Phase 1815-1818. pp.93-99.

128. Choksey, R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone, pp.173-174.

129. Ibid, p.174.

130. Ibid.

131. MSS EUR F88 Box III A. 13-9-1816.

132. MSS EUR F88 Box IIIB. 16-9-1816.

133. Poona Residency Correspondence. Elphinstone's Embassy, Vol. XIII. Part II. Ed. Sardesai G.S. Bombay, 1953, pp.95, 107, 89 and 101.

134. P.R.C. XIII. p.115.

135. MSS EUR F88 Box III B.

136. Prinsep H.T. History of the Political and Military Transactions in India, During the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813-1823, London, 1825. Vol. I, p.118.

137. P.R.C. XIII, p.95.

138. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit. p.340.

139. P.R.C. XIII. pp.95-99.

140. Ibid, pp.106 and 89.

141. Ibid, pp.149, 115, 107, 118.

142. Ibid, p.149.

143. Secret and Political Cons. No. 1. Governor General's minute of 10th May 1817.

144. P.R.C. XIII, p.158.

145. Political Dept. Dairy No. 298, p.585.

146. D.C. File Vol. 349. Adam to Elp. 17-5-1817.

147. P.R.C. XIII, pp.158-59.

148. D.C. File Vol. 349. Adam to Elphinstone. 17-5-1817.

149. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit. p.305.

150. P.R.C. XIII, pp.186-202. The entire Treaty June 13, 1817 is quoted in this volume.

151. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I, op.cit. p.306.

152. Ibid, p.307.

153. Ibid, pp. 361-362.

154. P.R.C. XIII, pp. 207-211.

155. Kay, J.W. The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Malcolm, London 1856, pp.170-171.

156. Ibid.

157. Peshwaichi Akhar, p.187.

158. Munro Papers: MSS EUR F151 - No. 62. Extract of a letter from Col. Close to Brigadier Gen. Sir John Malcolm dated at Gwalior Aug. 27, 1817.

159. MSS EUR F128 Box 7, Elphinstone to Strachey Poona, 21-7-1817.

160. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone, p.183.

161. Ibid, p.184.

162. Grant Duff J. History of the Marathas, Vol. III pp.413-414.
Elphinstone stated that Moro Dixit was led to this betrayal behaviour because of his jealousy since he had lost all influence with the Peshwa.
Vinchurkar was reported to have been purchased by the British for Rs.15 lakhs.

163. Mills J. History of India, Vol. VIII. London, 1848. p.167.

164. Munro Papers, MSS EUR F151:38.

165. Bombay Courier. 15-11-1817.

166. P.R.C. XIII, p.231.

167. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I. op.cit. pp.382-83.

168. Blacker, V. Memoirs of the Operating... during the Maharatta War of 1817, 1818 and 1819. London 1821. p.72.

169. Grant Duff Collection: MSS EUR D 465-466. Private Journal of an officer (Macleod) in the Deccan A.D. 1817-1818, appendix No. 2.

170. Munro Papers: MSS EUR F151:36. Governor General to The Government of Madras 24-11-1817.

171. P.R.C. XIII. p.289.

172. Gupta P.C. op.cit. p.193.

173. Political Dept. Diary No. 444. 10-2-1818.

174. Secret Dept. Diary No. 307, 11-2-1818.

175. Grant Duff's Collection: MSS EUR F88 Box 6A. Appendix Book II, p.318-22.

176. Munro Papers: MSS EUR F151:39.

177. Blacker's Memoir p.244.

178. Mills Vol. VIII. p.220.

179. MSS EUR F151: 36. W. Brown to Munro, Hollapilly 29-3-1818.

180. Grant Duff's Collection: MSS EUR 466. Munro to Elphinstone Camp at Sholapur. 15-3-1818.

181. Bhave Marathi Daftar Rumal 2. p.26.

182. Munro Papers: MSS EUR F151. Grant to Munro. 10-5-1818. (Appendix ~~Book~~ III.) ~~p.239-40.~~

183. P.R.C. XIII. p.313. This issue will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

184. Munro Papers: MSS EUR F29, 13-5-1818. Translation

of a letter from Brig. General Sir John Malcolm to Bajee Rao dated the 13th May 1818.

185. Ballhatchet K, Social Policy and Social Change in Western India. 1817-1830, London, 1957. p.43.

186. Ibid. p.44.

187. D.C. File Vol. 340. Malcolm to Governor General 3-6-1818.

188. Colebrooke T.E. op.cit. Vol. II. pp.138-139. Elphinstone gives an account of the battle and complains about Blacker. "... Blacker, you will observe, that although he must have been the most positive orders to Sir T. Hislop to make over two division to me, and not to meddle with them afterwards and likewise my instructions investing me with full power, civil and military he still considers that the whole of the operations in the Paishwa's country as conducted under him, and ends his enumeration of the feats performed under Sir T's personal command, with the Peshwa, and the most important revolution in the Mahratta State that had occurred since it was founded... "

189. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. I. op.cit. p.385.

APPENDIX I

National Archives

Foreign Dept. Cons. No. 11, June 21, 1817.

Elphinstone to Adam.
of 27th May, 1817.

"The design in which His Highness was engaged appears to have originated with himself, instigated perhaps by Trimbakji when it had attained to a certain degree of maturity he seems to have engaged his principal chiefs by solemn oaths to support him in any difficulties in which he might be involved. These oaths were taken by some while the Peshwa was at Phulshahar sometime about the end of the last year. Perhaps none but Gokhla was fully aware of the secret connection between Peshwa and Trimbakji. That conexion between Peshwa and Trimbakji was kept up through the personal attendants of His Highness and did not require the aid of his military chiefs. It was part of the Highness's policy to avoid incurring the premature suspicions of the British Government and he appears to have trusted especially Prabhakar Pandit. I think there is no doubt that it would have been fortunate for our immediate interests if the Peshwa had compelled us to go to war and to remove him from the Government - a war with the Peshwa without deposing him holds forth no advantage to compensate the expense, the risk and the probability of general disturbances

APPENDIX II

MSS EUR D 465-466 Private Journal of an officer on
the Deccan AD 1817-18.

Macleods Journal

Begins on Saturday Nov. 1st, 1817
(near Ahmednagar)

Nov. 8th : received before morning a report of an attack by the Paishwa's troops on ours at Poona which stated that they had been fighting all day on the 5th that many had been killed.

.... Sangam burnt.

Appendix

Monday 17th :

At a little before 4 a.m. the remainder of the force under General Smith consisting of the ½d 2/9d I/3d 65 Rg. past of the Light Battalion and the horse ashlley moved on by the Sangam ford .. the Marathas had decamped left their camp standing one or two bodies of .. appear on whom we fired and they instantly fled. We did not pursue them very little properly was found in the tents. Goklas in which the Paishwa was residing were found seized. It happened afterwards that had been so alarmed at the action with the reseve and the short which fell into the camp that he fled with his brother at 3 O'clock in the morning, and was soon followed by Gokla and his whole army.... the Maha Kalee was found on the field with the carriage burnt. They had thrown some shot from it into our camp the evening before.. it was said to carry a ball of about a hundred weight.

Tuesday 18th :

A good deal of the plundered property of the gentlemen of the Sangam and army now began to be found, some was discovered in a Gossaris house opposite the Sangam from whence and other hiding places about the river, these wretches continued surprising us as we crossed, nearly the whole of yesterday, until a party was sent to destroy them and burn the place.

No armed force was found in the city, but it was at least two third deserted and the remaining inhabitants extremely alarmed not without cause for some excesses were commited in the suburbs, by a few Europeans, but much more by our auxilery horse and followers.

Wednesday 19th :

Set the poineers to work with the dooly bearers to fortify the compound at Garpeer. Went over again in the afternoon with Col. Burr and fixed on the line for the Brigade resting its might on the bank strenghthened by a small barbitle(?) battery a little way in front and connected by abbatis and having the left of the line extending close to the fortified compound. This evening a party of light infantry and cavalry of horse artillery were sent to bring in some of the enemy's guns from near Singurhs.

Thursday 20th :

Continued the works at Garpeer. This day the brigade marched into the position for the defense of Poona consisting of 200 europeans under Captain Thew-Major Ford remained with his Corps at Dhapooree - all the ladies, sick, stores etc. began to be removed - a Mahratta writer of Capt Tory's who was convicted of going to the enemy and giving information on the night of the 16th was hanged near camp. He had gone over accompanied by three of his own hired men in Captain Swenson's risale and given information of our movement to Restia. In the evening the party returned from Sewgarh, bringing four guns and leaving ten more destroyed. It appeared that many rich inhabitants of the city had fled for protection to Sewgarh, and thinking themselves safe under the guns of the fort had taken their abode in two or three parties, encamped in the jungle on the side of the hill, and a good way up. The guns were found at Durk and destroyed near the bottom of the hill by Captain Jurner, but at dark the light infantry of the 65th skirmisting in advance fell upon a number of camels laden with valuables of every description, and found the spot rich plates, palanquins etc, all of which they instantly plundered. The poor people had fled in the utmost alarm, and left everything behind as it was two other prizes of the same kind were soon afterwards found and plundered by the 65th a follow on three gold - were found in one palanquin many boxes of jewels and bags of money plate bales of shawls silks and the richest clothes of every kind, the amount of which it is impossible to guess perhaps to lakhs of rupees or more. Two or three officers are supposed to have got immense sums. The people with the guns at first offered some resistance, and soon made their escape up the hill - the guns on the fort also opened to no purpose - it is supposed by some that if our party had pushed on, we might have taken the court. In destroying the enemys ammunition Lieut Hillock and three or four men of the H A were very severly burnt as was Lt. Johnson slightly on the arrival of the party in camp. Captain Fearon who had appointed prize - was sent to collect plunder but could get very little. He seized one camel from a soldier, on which the fellow said there was nothing but a few old rags, on searching however four boxes of jewels were discovered hidden which were valued fifty thousand rupees. Some idea of the extent of the plunder may be formed from the circumstances of a soldier's offering next day some jewels for sale in the bazar for two thousand rupees, which were valued by the natives who saw them at half a lac. He however escaped detection another man got a quantity of gold Mohurs, to an immense amount. Had the officers done their duty it is supposed eight or ten lacs of prize money would have been seemed to the army ... a very unfortunate circumstance occured on this expedition in going out the villages were assured of protection and seemed confident in our generously, but on the return of the party the villages were found empty plundered and raised whether by our fellows or irregular horse, could not be distinctively ascertained, for not above one or two inhabitants remained to tell their sad story.

Every day gave no fresh cause to curse those rascally irregular horse who only embarassed us in action, and ruined our character among the inhabitants. It was said that many sarets and other men of fortune carved all their valuables to this supposed place of safety were utterly ruined. Some reported that part of Gokla's family and property were there. The richest ornaments and apparel both male and female of every description were amongst the booty. Shawls were found said to be worth one and two thousand rupees. The whole affair gave me much regret as the sufferers were unoffending inhabitants of the city although the seizure was certainly justifiable after one proclamation of protection to such as would return to their homes. The sepoys artillery men and european regiments who remained steady to their duty, got very little except eleven dollars (?) each which they shated amongst themselves.

Friday 21st :

Went to view the palace which disappointed my expectations a good deal. I was only permitted to see the old palace and not even the private room of it. Captain Robertson occupied the common room Durbar and a small room of it where there was a picture of Marquis Wellesley and a miniature of Sir Barry Close stuck with a little wax against the wall. The Durbar room is quite plain excepting a row of wooden carved pillars and coaches down each side. The Ganesh Mahal is a handsome loftly room but not nearly so large as I expected to find it. It has a double row of small pillars also enlaid, as well as most part of the side with green fillagree and mirrors. The roof is handsome in the same style, but with a red ground. The famous image of Ganesh had been removed. The room appeared to much disadvantage being hung with wild clothes, to keep off dust and quite empty - above are galeries all round one which I suppose was intended for the women and family of the Paishwa to peep from, and is a neat little room enough. The walls are covered with painting from the Hindu Mythology amongst which the exploits of Krishna, Radha etc. seemed to form a principal part. In fact the whole of the walls of the palace are covered with drawings of the same kind. The principals sorts of the buildings consists of two lofty squares with wings out houses and other buildings in the rear. We went up to the top of the lawer, but saw little else of interest. The whole is extremely cool and well adapted to the climate, having very specious verandah. The old palace has not been lately the place of residence of the Paishwa, but was occupied by his brother Chimnajee Appa. He himself lived lately in the new or Sookrawar palace which is smaller and more modern but said to be more rich and handsome though in the same style with the rest. A good deal of property was found in both, and also in other public buildings and will be appraised for the losses of the army. Amongst other things of European manufacture in the palaces which were found lying broken and neglected, were very many fine gold watches, a pair of globes a sundial etc. a considerable quantity of stores, guns etc. were found in the different anouals (?) and the whole property put under guard. On walking round the wall of the old palace I was much surprised to find it a plan of a very little strength and very open to escalade. It is a square of about 150 yards, with towers at the angles and in the centre of the sides the wall is about 125 ft. thick, well built of stone and from 15 to 30 ft. high but without parapor or loopholes even in the towns and to complete its weakness, they have built a wall of about 51 ft. high on the inner edge of the rampart as if intended to protect a hostile force, from any annoyance from within, the moment they have scaled the wall, along the rear or south side, and particularly the S.E. angle near the large banian tree, the wall is not more than from 16 to 20 ft high and presents an open space of 8 ft wide and protected by a parapet from within for an enemy to draw up his troops on the top of the wall and surround the whole in the same way. The great gate is an exception being defended by two good towers with parapets, embrasurs and loopholes. The rest of the towers have no defensive but a small mud Chowkson on the top of each. On reporting the insecurity of the place (which does not seem to have been before noticed). I was directed to put the place in a state of security at least against a coup-de-main as the readiest way to take off the roof of the Chokwys in the tower and with the materials buil build a banquette round the inside and station a few men in each thus converting them into little redoubts or cavalries to secure the curtains. This was approved of as the most eligible plan for many reasons, and Mr. Slight was left to carry it into effect as well as to complete the remaining improvements etc. at Garpeer.

The troops occupied their new position and every precaution was taken for the defence and security of the city. The inhabitants were disarmed, a police organized and guards posted at proper stations by Captain Robertson assisted by Dr. Coeles. It would appear that some idea of resistance must have been at first entertained as several of the streets were barricade and a quantity of powder found in different places particularly in the palace. A detachment marched in the afternoon, consisting of 500 men with two guns under Captain Watson, to open the communication with Bombay and by this opportunity the first regular Tappal was dispatched.

APPENDIX III

MSS EUR F151

J. Grant to Munro 10-5-1818.

I wrote to you from Pandewaurch on the 18th ultimo. In the letter I anticipated the dispersion of Bodgeerows army and very early termination to our contest with him. We have this day accounts from Lt.Col. Heath dated at Bhuranpoor on the 5th inst. which mention that a party of Mysooreans have taken some of Badjee Rows Horsemen, who report that he was proceeding with 15000 of all descriptions to the above place; but that he had not more than 2000 fighting men that grain sold for 1½ seer per Rupee, in his camp; that they were frequently without any except what Ramdin's Pinderries plundered in the neighbouring villages. That his troops were daily deserting him, and that his object was to try and get to Hindostan. Col. Heath adds that Badjeerow had turned towards Candesh having heard of the approach of his (Col.) detachment from Hundiah (which consists of 3 Battalions - 1000 Mysoor Horse, 500 Poonah auxiliaries and 62 captured guns) and was described in the greatest state of alarm and distress and every report confirmed the great and daily desertion of his troops and followers.

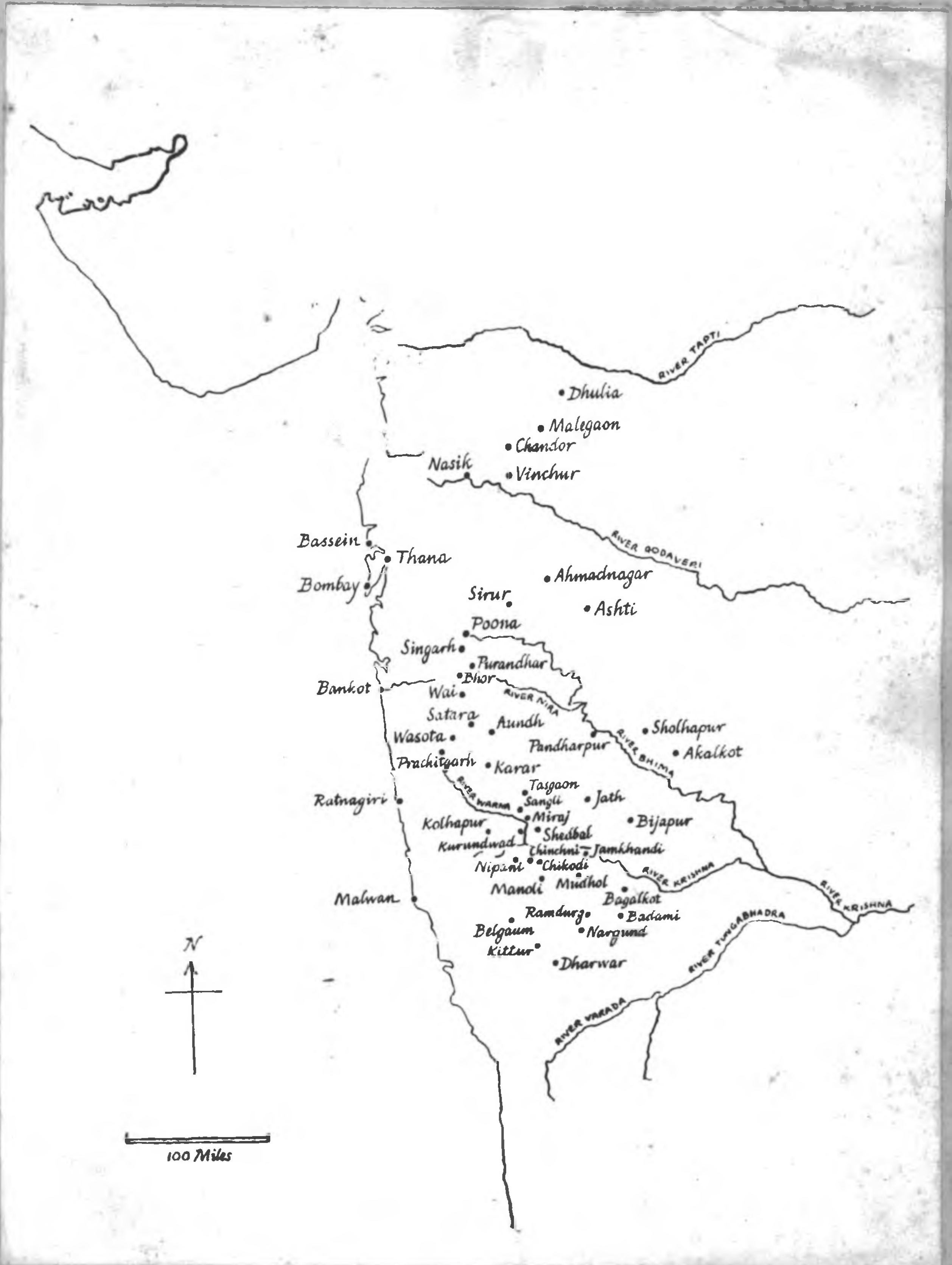
You will have heard that Cheemnjee Appah and Nepany have written to Doveton and Mr. Elphinstone for protection and have proceeded to the eastward, to throw themselves on Mr. Elphinstone's mercy. They separated from Badjeerao at Seftiesbad (?). This result I impule to the able and judicious movements of General Doveton, and his rapid pursuit from the 19th to the 22nd ultimo, when his force marched about 140 miles and pushing them to closely that having no rest or food, they became completely disgusted and disheartened and unable to endure any longer such misfortunes and privations as they were exposed to. You will probably have heard of immense Treasure found in palace of Nagpoor - 54 lacs of Rupees have been discovered, and more in prospect - at Nassack. I understand 30 lacks have also been found. All the above (with ...) should belong to the army but lord Hastings is endeavouring to deprive the troops of the Nagpoor Treasure.

It is Dovetons present intention to march into Candesh. This of course will depend on Mr. Elphinstone. Imagine it will fall to your lot to settle the conquered Territories, nearly all of which, I understand it is the intention to retain. In the Eastern provinces of Nagpoor e I am informed that Military Collectors have been nominated. The same should be observed, I think in this quarter, at least for a period and until the reign of order and tranquility is established. The natives in this region would look upon civilians as a non-descript sort of animals and treat them with great contempt. Badgirow will probably seek refuge among the Beels, in the Hills and fastnesses between the Taptee and the Narbuddah where Trimbujee Danglia (who is with him) was formerly concealed. If so and that we bid property they will - him up.

Call Most faithfully Yours

J. Grant.

TERRITORIES CONQUERED FROM THE PESHWA.


River Tapti
Dhulia
Malegaon
Chandor
Nasik
Vinchur
River Godaveri
Bassein
Thana
Bombay
Ahmadnagar
Sirur
Ashti
Poona
Singarh
Purandhar
Bhor
Bankot
Wai
River Nira
Satara
Aundh
Wasota
Sholhapur
Pandharpur
River Bhima
Akalkot
Prachitgarh
Karar
River Warna
Tasgaon
Sangli
Jath
Ratnagiri
Miraj
Bijapur
Kolhapur
Shedbal
Kurundwad
Chinchni
Jamkhandi
Nipani
Chikodi
River Krishna
Manoli
Mudhol
Bagalkot
River Krishna
Malwan
Ramdurg
Badami
River Tungabhadra
Belgaum
Nargund
Kittur
Dharwar
River Varada
N
100 Miles

जयकर ग्रंथालय पुणे विद्यापीठ

CHAPTER IV

ELPHINSTONE APPOINTED AS COMMISSIONER

The British conquest of the Peshwa's territories resulted in the appointment of Mountstuart Elphinstone as the 'sole Commissioner of the Deccan'. The Supreme Government took the decision not only because it had full confidence in his ability and integrity but also, he was the only 'one who was personally acquainted with the individuals composing the late Government and he also had an intimate knowledge of the prejudices and manners of the people with whom he had been in close and constant communication for many years.'[1] For these reasons the territories conquered from the Peshwa were kept distinct from those of the Presidencies of Bombay or Madras - though it was an accepted fact that eventually they would become a component part of either one or the other or both of those establishments. However it was thought expedient to have them directly subordinate to the Supreme Government for some time longer. But due to the vast distance between the two it was inconvenient for the Supreme Government to rule directly. Therefore it was decided to place them in charge of a Commission[2], which was to be headed by Elphinstone. He was given the liberty to shape the new system of Government according to his own descretion and was also given the previlege to choose his collectors.[3]

Elphinstone's feeling on being appointed Commissioner

Elphinstone's nervousness at the time of undertaking a stupendous task of reorganising the political affairs of the conquered territories is revealed in his letter to Munro in which he wrote: "I really feel some uneasiness at the prospect of undertaking alone a task on which so much is to depend."[4] Similar apprehension is contained in his letter dated 2nd July, 1818 to Malcolm : "It certainly is a hard plan to swallow more than we can digest ... By destroying and diminishing so many states we have increased the sources of the disorders which it was our object to remove."[5]

Awareness of the transitory and ephemeral character of the British rule in India was an integral part of Elphinstone's attitude towards the Indian question. In a letter to his friend Strachey, he wrote : "The greatness and suddenness of the change only leads one to expect other changes as great sudden when the ill - cemented fabric of our empire may tumble down like a house of cards or rather when our Government may slip from the sort to which it is bound by no ties like an avalanche in the Alp."[6] A similar opinion is expressed in a letter to Sir James Mackintosh : Elphinstone wrote : "I am afraid the belief that our Indian Empire will not be long-lived is reason, and not prejudice. It is difficult to guess the death it may die ... A time of separation must come; and it is for our interest to have an early separation from a civilized people rather than a violent rupture with a barbarous nation, in which it is probable that all our settlers and even our commerce, would perish, along with all the institutions we had introduced into the country."[7] Elphinstone did not suffer from any misconception about the secret of the British supremacy. He wrote : "The numbers and physical force of the natives are evidently incalculably greater than ours. Our strength consists in the want of energy and the disunion of our enemies."[8]

Territories put in charge of Elphinstone

The total territory that came in possession of Elphinstone was roughly estimated at 50,000 sq. miles and the population was approximately 4,000,000, but it did not include any of the detached territories beyond the Nizam's frontier.[9] For the sake of convenience Elphinstone divided the country into four divisions -

(1) the Karnatak between the Krishna and Tungabhadra
(2) The Maratha Country
(3) the Bombay Konkan and
(4) Khandesh.[10]

The population was principally Marathi speaking in the newly conquered territories. It consisted chiefly of cultivators. Tribals belonging to Ramoshi, Bhil and Koli clans also lived in the outskirts of the towns and in the mountain ranges.

Elphinstone's letter to the Governor General gives a clear picture of the total revenue they inherited from the Peshwa, and how this sum was going to be divided in Conquered Territories. The Peshwa's whole revenue before the treaty in 1817 with the British, amounted to Rs.2,15,00,000 of which Rs.95,00,000 was paid into the treasury and Rs.1,20,000 was allotted to the Jagirdars. Of the sum of one crore and twenty lakhs; twenty-six lakhs and fifty thousand was the income from the Peshwa's dominions in Hindustan, which of late years had declined in value, and from which the Peshwa hardly derived any great benefit. By the treaty of 1817 the entire income from Hindustan and an additional sum of thirty-two lakhs was ceded to the British, that is a sum of Rs.58,50,000 was to be deducted from the Peshwa's income on the outbreak of the war. The sum therefore paid into the Peshwa's treasury after the June of 1817 was Rs.63,00,000 with an additional sum allotted to the jagirdars of Rs.93,50,000 brought his total revenue to Rs.1,56,50,000.[11]

When Maharashtra passed into the British hands, Elphinstone after deducting the income of lands to the Patwardhans, Appa Desai, the Chauth on the Nizam's country, the territories ceded to the Raja of Satara, allowances to officers civil and military, lands which it may prove unjust to resume and deduction for defalcation, computed a sum of Rs.15,00,000 as the actual gain to the British from the conquered territories. The total government revenue from all branches of income was calculated at

Rs.50,00,000. This amount was divided among the following.

1.	Raja of Satara		Rs.12,00,000
2.	Rewards to Patwardhans	"	5,00,000
3.	Religious expenses	"	2,00,000
4.	For pensions (civil & military)	"	2,00,000
5.	Baji Rao's pension	"	8,00,000
6.	Chimaji the Peshwa's brother	"	3,00,000
7.	Other pensions	"	2,00,000
		Total	Rs.34,00,000

This left the Government with (50,00,000 - 34,00,000) = Rs.16,00,000 as the amount of jagirs, which brought the new government a total net revenue of (Rs.15,00,000 + 16 16,00,000) = Rs.31,00,000. This only gave Elphinstone a prospect of a clear revenue of Rs.31 lakhs provided the civil expenses did not exceed those of Baji Rao II and the military expenses were well covered by the cession of Vasai and Pune. "This last expectation", wrote Elphinstone to Lord Hastings, "may be confidently entertained, it may indeed be expected that the diminution of expenses of the auxiliary horse will set free Rs.18,00,000 or 20,00,000 additional and leave Rs.50,00,000 of clear revenue by the end of the next year."[12] But in spite of these hopeful calculations, Elphinstone regarded this estimate unreliable or even fallacious, so that no relaxation was possible in the exercise of "the most rigid economy in all our establishments connected with the Peshwa's country."[13]

The revenue of Holkar's share of Khandesh was not included in the above calculation[14] but Elphinstone felt that it must be a very meagre sum, and even if that sum were added to Rs. 31 lakhs it would still fall short of Rs. 40 lakhs. Elphinstone wrote that Khandesh was, however, the most promising part of the Peshwa's dominions. Should the amount for the improvement of Khandesh was insufficient he suggested that it should be made up from the following sources.

(1) Bate's and Gokhale's jagir lands between the
Nira and Kistna may be retained.

(2) The pensions of the civil and military officers
may be recovered by resumption of personal Jagirs.

(3) The Gaikwad's tribute may be exacted.

(4) Holkar's lands may be withheld.

(5) Less favourable terms be granted to the Nizam.

Of the last two suggestions Elphinstone could not calculate the financial advantage, but the others would give a sum of Rs.12,50,000. The amount of Rs. 4 lakhs that came from lessening the pensions, Elphinstone felt as rather unjust, and recommended that it would be better to raise the sum of Rs.12 lakhs by enforcing demands on foreign states and retrenching state expenses. But as many of the pension were for the life of the present pensioners only, and others in the future may be made also the matter was allowed to rest for the time. Elphinstone suggested that the lands of the civil officers or new Jagirdars, may be properly reduced or entirely resumed. But he was against the resumption of the lands of the military Jagirdars on their death.[15]

Difficulties faced by Elphinstone

Elphinstone and his co-workers faced a number of problems of various nature and unseen complication because they witnessed the period which brought in a "transition" of Government from "the Conquered to the Conqueror."[16] The situation was all the more trying for the Conquerors, as they were alien to the soil and strangers to the classes, customs and creeds of those who were now going to be their subjects. The administration to Elphinstone was even more difficult in Maharashtra than any of their former conquests, as this was perhaps the first native government of which they had annexed almost the whole territory at once to their possessions, except those independent states which might give asylum to those people who would be discontended with our Government. Nor had the British ever acquired a country so parcelled out into jagirs and military chiefs or so united with districts of independent powers as the Peshwas. These circumstances required a provisional Government of some discretion and a temporary system suited to the transition from the present state of things to that now in force in other British provinces.[17] "There were quite a good many", wrote Elphinstone, "who were dissatisfied with their present position and loss of profits, and disgusted with the novelty of British institutions and manners. This left many malcontents, even if they had no enemies besides the Peshwa and his army, for the late war was not with the Peshwa alone but with all the predatory part of the troops driven from the ranks of Holkar, the Raja of Berar and worst of all the Pindarics."[18]

For the British one of the most disturbing and festing elements were the Bunds. The letters available reveal that Elphinstone throughout his stay in Maharashtra was constantly receiving reports from his collectors about them. Immediately after the war there were many reports about the Bunds and there prevailed a constant fear of a revolt. Pottinger, the collector of Ahmednager informed Elphinstone that a small Bund of Bheels and Coolies under the name of Narrayen Rao Holkar had appeared in the Northern parts of Nasik and 'committed a few excesses but none of least importance. They have, however, completely terrified.'[19] Pottinger also reported to Elphinstone that, "I have had intelligence to night that Dhunnajee Purtaub Row is coming in disguise in the village of Dytun in the turuff Purlee Pergunna Ambay Jogaiy. Dytun is four koss from Purlee to the South Eastern end has a range of hills .... The Potail of the Hamlet of Dytun is a Brinjeree and Dunnajee lodges in his house. He has 10 Horses and even with him no infantry. I wish we could get hold of him as I apprehend his making a Bund after the Monsoon."[20] Briggs the Collector of Khandesh informed, "The Arabs are crumbling before us, our resolution and exertions at Maligaum are operating secretly in our favour in other parts. The Bara Bhaee are many of them inhabitants of Candish and some of the villages are full of them, they live quietly as long as troops are near but run away by plundering the moment they are called away."[21] While Robertson the collector of Puna wrote to Elphinstone that there was a diabolical plot engineered by the Peshwa to murder all the English gentlemen at Puna, Seroor, Satara etc. on the same day. "I have got" he wrote "written proof of one party of the scheme and our Purwenly sepoys are all engaged..... The Peshwa's Hoojoorias Gungajee Naik (Hawuldar of Loghur at one time) Deoji Naik and Hona (believe his name is) I have laid a plan to seize their papers."[22] Robertson also brought to Elphinstone's notice that there were rumours that the States of Nizam, the dethroned Rajas (i.e. Shinde, Bhonsle, and Holkar) and even the Gaikwad were in correspondence, 'concerning the best means of making an united opposition, to our Government'. 'The Arabs', he said, 'continued to be insolent and quarrelsome. Expresses and messengers are flying over the country especially to and from the southward - and three different accounts give me reason to believe that Nernalla near Punderpoor is the centre (?) of armed men. Aba Poorunderry and Naroopunt Aptey are assembling troops as escort to join the Paishwah.'[23] Therefore wrote Robertson that he had asked Col. Cox to send some troops. Although he was fully aware that there might not even be a revolt - but "it will be better to be on guard and nothing more."[24] Thus there were a number of insurrections, after the war, and regarding them Elphinstone wrote that 'the principal object would be to crush all petty insurrections and assemblages of bandit.'[25]

Chatar Singh[26] a relation of the Raja of Satara was kept in prison for carrying on conspiracy against the British. Besides him all those who were involved in any plot for restoring the power of the Peshwa were punished.[27] In fact three men were executed, and were blown away from the guns at Pune, just as it was done in the medieval period.

Elphinstone requested the collectors to be aware of the most obstinate and untractable portion of the Peshwa's army that was gradually returning home, they must either be provided for as irregular horse or extirpated as plunderers. Independent of these, the villages in Maharashtra swarmed with horsemen who were permanently or occasionally employed by Baji Rao II and his Jagirdars and who had in the past sent some men from each family to serve the Shindes, the Holkars and the Raja of Berar, while others occasionally joined the Pindaries, and many in Khandesh had found constant employment in the destruction of the country.[28]

Fortunately for the British, though they feared so many rebellion nothing substantial happened and the people had no other alternative but to submit to the British rule.

Reaction of the People

Occupation of Pune confronted Elphinstone with many intricate problems, the chief of which related to the pacification of the people. Elphinstone and his team of administrators displayed utmost tact in handling the popular reaction to the British occupation. H.D. Robertson, Collector of Pune in a letter to Elphinstone wrote about the reaction of the Pune population, "From the time when Baji Rao's affairs took a decided turn for the worse, the better informed part of the inhabitants began to act on the belief that they would be permanently subject to the British Government ... When the town was taken possession of, public opinion was strong against us. The versatility of their disposition however soon got the better of the insult we had offered to their understanding as politicians and after the first month they appeared to remain in a state of indifference regarding who should be their ruler, and only observed a cautious behaviour that might prevent us from conceiving them our enemies and Bajirao if he ever returned from accusing them of being our friends. But the inhabitants of the town were no sooner informed of our intention never to give up again to Bajirao than some of the most sensible and most respectable members of the community visited me in the day time instead of as formerly during the night. It is perhaps unnecessary to acquaint you that your interview with the Brahmins of the city had a most happy effect. Their visit confirmed the minds of the most thinking portion of the people in looking up to our government as worthy of being popular and your liberality to them and to the Brahmins of Wai has convinced every one that we possess no prejudice of education or government."[29]

Pottinger the Collector of Ahmednagar also wrote about the feelings of the people.. "I am more satisfied ... that the people of the country are most anxious to be peaceable but our Kummavisdars (Kamavisdars) are not yet in any order and our Sebundees (Sibundies) are still worse so that they actually drive the ryots to desperate measures and nothing but the severest examples will have the slightest effect on our own people."[30]

Elphinstone himself wrote about the reaction of the people, "The people here received our government with perfect submission, if not with pleasure. There is not the smallest popular feeling against us; partly no doubt from the hopelessness of resistance, partly also from the hope of good government and anxiety for peace."[31]

It was in this atmosphere of popular sullenness, indifference and resignation that Elphinstone began to give shape to his measures for pacifying the conquered people and for consolidating the gains of conquest. As Resident Elphinstone had to deal with practical problems, but now as Commissioner he could not discharge his responsibilities by blindly maintaining a static system in Maharashtra.

Moreover at this time there prevailed an atmosphere, in which improvement was steadily urged in almost all segments of British opinion. Elphinstone sought to understand the land and the people of Maharashtra in the perspective of its future developments that might be in accord with his vision of India's future.

Western Influence

After the conquest of India, the British people were keenly interested in uplifting the country. Several proposals by different persons following different ideologies were put forth to improve the conditions in India. To the British missionaries, it appeared that only mass scale conversion of Hindus to Christianity would alone solve the problem of India. The Imperialists felt that a clean administration and the introduction of the English political institutions would improve the Indian situation in the course of time. The utiliterians, believed that a series of reforms in the political and social structures would realise a rapid transformation of the country. The Conservatives however believed in the evolutionary method. They believed that the Indians should work for their own improvement.[32]

Jeremy Bentham's Principles of Morals and Legislation were popularised by 1815 by James Mill, who had joined the India House as Assistant Examiner at the same time, Strachey, Elphinstone's friend, also joined as Assistant to Mill in the Revenue Department. This brought both of them into close contact with each other. After consultation with Mill, Strachey selected some of Bentham's works and sent them out to Elphinstone for him to read.[33] Another friend William Erskine, had previously sent him some of Bentham's works.[34] Elphinstone no doubt read his work with great interest and admiration. He felt all the more pleased when Bentham himself sent some of his writings through Strachey: 'I am extremely flattered' he replied, "by his present of books, and know no author from whom I should highly have valued such a distinction.'[35] But after a through study Elphinstone came to the conclusion, that for his task in Maharashtra, however, he could not afford to be a utilitarian theorist, and he did not find Bentham's theories immediately applicable. As he himself described it, his task was to learn what social and legal institutions existed in the Deccan and to preserve them. On the contrary he had to prevent officials from making new laws in contravention of Benthamism and other prevalent British ideas, that wanted to fashion a new code, and a new way of life for the people there. Elphinstone wrote 'of being taught by time', that is, through experience, for an understanding of what had to be done to improve the lands he govered.[36]

But there were also fundamental characteristic of personality and upbringing which made it impossible for Elphinstone to accept the whole of Benthamism. His love of the past, so characteristic of the Romantic movement, must have predisposed him to sympathise with the traditional aspects of the Indian life and to a reluctance to tamper with them for the sake of utility. Besides that his aristocratic breeding must have also predisposed him to sympathise with the privileged social groups in India whose position seemed threatened by Western methods of government. Many of his social policies, no doubt were directed to the greatest good of the greatest number, but he was no egalitarian. He was of aristocratic birth and proud of it. Hereditary privileges which would have seemed 'factitious honours' to Bentham seemed to Elphinstone worthy of preservation both on political and on social grounds and also on grounds of expediency.[37] Thus it can be said that Elphinstone was more conservative minded than being a utilitarian.

Regarding the work of the missionaries he said that it would not be safe for them to start their activities immediately for they had just taken over a 'Brahmin Government' - and this Brahmin class had played a decisive role, in the political, social, and religious life of the people.[38]

Indian Influence

Elphinstone though he was given the liberty to plan his own administration, but all the same had to work out a system which would be acceptable to his Government and at the same time do good to the people whom he was entrusted to rule.

The Liberal movement which was gathering momentum in England in the 19th Century had its influence on the British administration in India. By 1818, the East India Company had completed its task of political subjugation of India. The need for reforming the Indian system, was therefore strongly felt after 1818.

Elphinstone's conquest of Maharashtra completed the task of British conquest of India. Their authority now extended all over India with the exception of the Indus delta the whole coastline of India was under their control and the native States within the circle were reduced to the level of dependent powers. England too by this time had become free from European politics, as Napoleon was defeated and sent in exile and the fear of French invasion which had always haunted England had been banished once and for all. It has been observed, as previously stated, that at this time it was the second grade or sub-ordinate officials who played a prominent role in India on a stronger footing. They were Munro, Elphinstone, Malcolm and Metcalf. These Anglo-Indian officials came to India while quite young. They read about Liberalism but did not live in it as such, they did not have liberal experience. But Munro on his own initiative had started a Liberal School in India based on traditional Indian pattern of which the others were followers. Through their own efforts, they acquired a knowledge of oriental literature and languages and thus developed an appreciation for Indian culture. Through close contacts with all classes of Indians, from peasants to princes, they grew to understand the social and political institutions of the lands where they served.

These subordinate officials realised the folly committed by their Government first in introducing the 'Double Government', which did not prove to be suitable either to the British or to the Indians. It was immediately abolished by Warren Hastings. Then was the Permanent Settlement of Bengal (1793) by Cornwallis to check the flow of profits and which seperated the executive from the judiciary.

Cornwallis had taken a bold step to make a final settlement of the revenue with the zamindars of the hereditary rent collectors. He succeeded in establishing a new class of zamindars in Bengal, who were recognised as the owners of their estates, which could be sold for arrears of revenue. The idea was to reduce the executive role of government to the very minimum, of establishing the rule of law in place of what was seen as the corrupting influence of personal power. Thus Cornwallis consciously or unconsciously broke away with the personal authoritarian tradition of Indian Government and based his work explicitly on the principles of the English political tradition.[39]

The Cornwallis system was acceptable to Lord Wellesley and he wanted his co-workers also to endorse it. But the situation in Maharashtra or Madras was different from that of Bengal, where it was first introduced. The officers in charge of Maharashtra and Madras, therefore, opposed its application to their regions. As India was not sufficiently politically organized, it would be unsafe, they argued, to introduce complete separation of executive and judicial powers.[40] Unless the administrators were highly trustworthy people, such a system, they believed would not work efficiently. They were aware of the fact that they would be required to leave this country by entrusting the work of administration to the native people. Their only pious desire was to leave the country in a happier and prosperous state than they found in. They did not wish to transform the British rule from a personal, paternal Government to an impersonal mechanical administration. Munro, the leader of the school wrote "The ruling vice of our government is innovation .... we should take every country as we find it and not rashly attempt to regulate its landed property either in accumulation or division."[41] Munro in a letter to Elphinstone wrote; "It is too much regulation that ruins everything. Englishmen are as great fanatics in politics as Mohamedans in religion. They suppose that no country can be saved without English institutions. The natives of this country have enough of their own to answer every useful object of internal administration ..."[42] His school looked to the continuation of the Indian tradition of personal government. Their aim was to secure for the peasants the possession of his land to rule him with a paternal and simple government and so to avoid all the artificialities of a sophisticated European form of rule - their political vision must have sprung up directly from that current of contemporary thought in Europe which literary historians have called the Romantic movement.[43]

To the ryot, government must be represented simply, not by a multiplicity of written forms, but by a single officer, who had powers to inquire, to judge and to punish without the delay and intricacies of the Western legal process. In practical terms this meant a union of powers, at least at the district level. The collector's office was to be the greatest executive office of local government controlling in firm subordination the whole inferior executive arm.[44] Munro introduced in Madras, the 'Ryotwari Settlement', by which settlement was done with each and every ryot individually. This system was adopted in a modified form by Elphinstone in the Deccan and Metcalfe, in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces after 1819.[45] Elphinstone was much influenced by Munro's work in Madras; he not only sought his advice in day-to-day problems of administration but also studied his published writings with attention. He once wrote in his journal, after a cordial visit from Munro, that he 'felt as much respect for him as for a father and as,'[46] much freedom as with a brother.

The British occupation of Maharashtra differed both qualitatively and quantitatively from their occupation of other parts of India. In Maharashtra they had come face to face with a viable living administration. Even during the last phase of the Maratha power, the administration had not fallen into chaos. In fact, Elphinstone was lucky to have on his hands an almost readymade administrative system. All that he had to do was to prepare a few Englishmen to adopt themselves to the Maratha system. This evidently was better than trying to train a whole population in a new system. Elphinstone had the genius to realize this and he was no chauvani to employ English methods alone, suitable or otherwise.

Regarding the Maratha Government Elphinstone pointed out that though their government might not have been compatible with a very good form of administration; the very fact that it survived so long meant there was something vital in it.[47] Like Burke Elphinstone too was impressed by the working of the village communities in India, which according to him were like little republics, having all the germs of democracy.[48]

The Maratha village was a close - knit unit. Those who held land either as hereditary officers or peasant proprietors formed a major section of the population. The class of hereditory officers, holding land directly from the state and enjoying certain rights and perquisites were the Deshmukhs or the Desais, the Deshpandes, the Kulkarnis, the Patils, the Chaughulas, the Setes, the Mahajans, etc. They were also known as desakas. The desakas who performed various administrative duties did not pay land revenue, were called watandars. Amongst the Marathas the term watan denoted a rent free land held in hereditary and perpetual occupation in lieu of the state offices they held.[49] The villagers who owned the land and paid the land revenue were called mirasdars. Miras is an Arabic term signifying hereditary ownership of land. An earlier designation of this class was thalkari. A section of the village population consisted of the tenants who had no land of their own. They were called uparis or strangers. Lastly, there were balutedars who rendered various services to the villagers and the village and were rewarded for these services with annual payments of agricultural produce called baluta. Among these balutedars may be counted washerman, blacksmith, barber, potter, mahar, mang, goldsmith, carpenter, cobbler, oil manufacturer, etc. Joshi, Gurav and Mulani also belonged to this class of balutedars who served the religious needs of the villagers. Thus the watandars, mirasdars, upris and the balutedars together made a Maratha village community.[50]

Elphinstone, developed a good opinion of the Maratha system, and therefore he wrote to the Governor-General that he wanted to preserve as much of it as he could because he thought that it had served the Marathas well.[51]

Elphinstone's Plan to follow a policy of Moderation

There was lot of common sense and matter of fact approach in Elphinstone's settlement of the Maratha affairs. As Elphinstone himself puts it : "My employment is very humble. It is to learn which system is in force and to preserve it unimpaired. This I think, ought to be the great, duty of a 'provisional government', and I think I have done a great service to this country if I can prevent making laws for it until they see whether it wants them."[52] Elphinstone's policies stemmed from his close acquaintance with Maharashtra and from his cautious approach to innovation and reform. Opposing the introduction of detailed Regulations of the Bengal or Bombay Government into the Deccan, Elphinstone wrote, "Many novelties must accompany every revolution, and if to these we voluntarily add an entire change in the laws, it is easy to conceive the odium and prejudices we shall raise up against us."[53]

Elphinstone had an insight to sense the historically inevitable collapse of the British empire in India. But in the meantime he hoped the day far distant, and he resolved that he should contribute his mite to keep it off by great moderation in the settlement of the conquered land.[54] 'Moderation in the settlement' was the key idea of Elphinstone's life work in Maharashtra. Elphinstone attached greatest value to winning the confidence of the conquered people. He wrote, "While we enjoy the confidence of the natives our boldest innovations are safe but that once lost, our most cautious measures would involve us in dangers."[55] One of the facilitating factor for the ascendancy of the British rule in India was the dogged pursuit of limited objectives by the East India Company. Commercial concession and revenue were the two great objectives that largely motivated company's political actions. In return of these two advantages the Company was ready to preserve the entire traditional social order in the conquered territories. This left lot of scope for moderation. Elphinstone was wise enough to put it to best advantage. "Elphinstone concentrated on the preservation of Indian society as a foundation on which improvements might later be erected."[56]

The success of the administration depended directly on the "efficiency of the Collectors." Therefore it was necessary for Elphinstone to have trustworthy men to implement his instructions. As he wrote to his friend Adam in Calcutta, "The basis of my system is that nothing ought to be altered without great and apparent necessity.... I am convinced the Maratha plan if cleaned of abuses and vigorously acted on will do very well for the people and I should dread to see Judges and chuprassis - almost as much as missionaries."[57]

Appointment of Collectors

Elphinstone as previously stated often discussed his problems with Munro. Even while appointing his collectors he discussed it with him, who advised him that experience in his view, was the only real training for a collector;

day to day work among the Indians was worth more than, 'the study of all the Regulations and Codes of Calcutta and Madras together.'[58] Munro further explained that, "We can never be qualified to govern men against whom we have all prejudices; it ought rather to be in their favour than against them. We ought to know their character but especially the favourable side of it, for if we know only the unfavourable, it will beget contempt and harshness on the one part and discontent on the other."[59]

Thus keeping Munro's advice in view Elphinstone appointed Captain H.D. Robertson Provisional Collector and Magistrate of Puna. He had served prior to the war as Elphinstone's assistant. During the war he had been of great help to the British. He had been appointed by General Smith "to command the first guard that marched into Puna ..... a duty which involved the management of the Police and of such collections as were required."[60] Besides that he knew the language of the native and the Persian and also the Maratha politics well.

Lt. Henry Pottinger was appointed Provisional Collector and Magistrate of Ahmednagar. He had also served as assistant to Elphinstone before Robertson and had taken part in the war. He came to India in 1803 at the age of 14 and since then he was leading an interesting and adventurous life in India.[61]

Captain J. Briggs was appointed Provisional Collector and Magistrate of Khandesh. In 1816 prior to the war he had joined Elphinstone at Pune as Third Assistant at the Residency, his main duty was to translate the intelligence reports sent in by Elphinstone's agents at the different Indian Courts.[62] During the war he acted as Agent for the Governor-General with Sir T. Hislop. He entered Khandesh with that Officer's army and served there after the fall of the Peshwa. Briggs was ambitious, soon after the war he openly wrote to Elphinstone that he was anxious to become the Collector. Being convinced of his case Elphinstone appointed him as collector of Khandesh.[63]

Elphinstone chose Captain James Grant an army officer on his own staff, as the Collector and Political agent of Satara. He played a prominent part in the late war and was present in all the three battles. Grant's task was more difficult than other collectors, he had to lead the Raja into the ways of British administrative practice.[64]

William Chaplin was appointed Collector of Dharwar on the suggestion of Munro. Munro wrote that he thought him, 'the fittest person in the Madras Civil Service' besides that he possesses 'great temper, an excellent judgement and has had much experience'. Munro further wrote, 'he has more talent and more extensive general views than any of the Civil Servants under Madras.'[65]

Their salary was fixed at Rs.2,000 with Rs.500 as additional allowances under the head of travelling charges. Captain Grant, drew the same salary but received Rs.1,500 for other expenses. They were all given instructions to exercise strict economy in every branch of their expenditure.[66]

Except Mr. Chaplin all the above mentioned officers were drawn from the military ranks. This policy created dissatisfaction among the civil servants of the Company who thought that they were degraded. To assert their right of appointments in the Collectors' posts the Civil Service personnel of Bombay Presidency submitted a memorial to the Hon'ble Court of Directors in December 1819 against the injustice done to them with the employment of Military Officers as Collectors in the Deccan.[67] A petition was submitted by them to the Court of Directors, complaining about the appointments. The matter was referred to Elphinstone by the Court of Directors. Elphinstone's immediate reply was that they were only appointed as Provisional Collectors and not as permanent. Thus the civil servants had no alternative but to keep silence.[68] Once the question of appointment of Collectors was settled Elphinstone began his work of settlement.

Instructions to his Collectors

The Collectors were to retain the judicial powers entrusted to them during the war in addition to their revenue and other duties. He authorized them to modify the existing methods and institutions as they found it expedient to do so, but with the general aim of maintaining the Maratha system wherever it was not repugnant to reason and equity.[69] They were also instructed to pay frequent visits to their respective collectorate.

The instructions issued by Elphinstone give an indication of the temper of Elphinstone's plan for the settlement of Maharashtra. In a circular dated 22nd April 1818 to Captain Pottinger, and others, Elphinstone instructed them to circulate his Proclamation throughout the district and to assure the Amildars and Patils good treatment and protection. Elphinstone also instructed them to abolish the farming system but asked them to retain the rest of the Maratha revenue system. All lands held free of revenue were to be allowed to remain so and to be left with their proprietors, the British Government was not to interfere with the hereditary property of this kind. Jagirs of persons with Bajirao were to be seized but those Jagirdars who collaborated with the British were to be preserved. Elphinstone, however, made it clear that he wished to consolidate the various rights and claims levied under the names of mokasa and therefore District Collectors should be careful to avoid any step that might limit the British right to future interference respecting them. Ahmednagar and Khandesh Collectors were further instructed to employ every means to conciliate the Bhils and the Ramoshis, and to continue to them any privileges they might had possessed before Bajirao's accession.[70]

Elphinstone before addressing his energies for the final settlement of the conquered territories; made a settlement with the Raja of Satara the most prominent person in the Maratha State.

The State of Satara and Elphinstone

The Supreme Government had given Elphinstone a choice with regard to the arrangement to be made with Pratapsingh, the Raja of Satara, the descendant of Shivaji and nominal head of the Maratha Empire. The Supreme Government had instructed Elphinstone to make provision for the Raja of Satara either by an assignment of land in jagir or by establishing him in a small and compact soverignty under such conditions as shall secure the supremacy of the British Government. The Supreme Government also marked out the objectives which were calculated to be secured as a result of this arrangement : "The conciliation of the tribe of the Marathas to the new order of things, and the establishment of a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the former Brahmin Government."[71]

Elphinstone's shrewed political acumen could not but immediately grasp the psychological advantage in retaining the symbol of Maratha soverignty. Pratap Sinha could be used as a puppet in diverting the popular feelings of the Marathas. Elphinstone used his discretion and bestowed upon Pratap Singha a kingdom the boundaries of which were fixed at the Ghats on the West, the Nira on the North, the Nizam's border on the East and Krishna and Warna on the South.

Elphinstone appointed Captain James Grant to act as Political Agent with the Raja of Satara. In a letter dated 8th April 1818 Elphinstone communicated to Captain James Grant the instructions for conducting the affairs of the newly created Satara State.[72] After enumerating the British objectives for setting up the new state he instructed James Grant to impress upon the people as well as the Raja of Satara that the new state was not intended to revive even in name the Empire of Shivaji. Elphinstone also stressed that Grant had to secure the Raja's goodwill but he had also to make it quite clear that the authority of the British Government was in reality supreme. Otherwise, 'the machine we are setting up will be liable to be turned against us.'[73]

NOTES

1. MSS EUR F88 Box 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone Dhoolia 20-3-1819.
2. Ibid.
3. Bombay Archives : Political Dept. Vol. 448. p. 2845. J. Adam Secretary to Government to M. Elphinstone. 15-12-1817.
4. Colebrooke, T.E. 'Life of The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone', London, 1884, Vol. II, p.20.
5. Ibid. p.43.
6. MSS EUR F128 Box 7 No. 26. Elphinstone to Strachey Candalla, 7-11-1824.
7. Ibid. pp. 72-73.
8. Elphinstone's Report on the conquered territories, quoted by Colebrooke T.E. Vol. II. p.95.
9. Elphinstone's Report on the Territories Conquered from the Peshwa, given in Forrest G.W. 'Selections from the minutes and other official writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone'. London 1884, p.253. Elphinstone in his Report gives a detail account of the territories conquered, nature of the land, people etc.
10. Bombay Archieves : Secret and Political Department. Vol. 307 and 308. Elphinstone to Governor General. 18-6-1818.
11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Because, when Elphinstone wrote this letter, till then the conquest of Khandesh had not been completed. Khandesh came in their possession in June 1818.

15. Ibid. This problem will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

16. Choksey R.D. The Period of Transition 1818-1826. p. iv.

17. Munro Papers : MSS EUR 151 File No. 29. Elphinstone to Munro, Camp, Poona. 3-5-1818.

18. Secret and Political Department. Vol. 307 and 308, Elphinstone to Governor General. 18-6-1818.

19. Pottinger's Private Letters : Vol. I. MSS EUR F88 Box 7B. Pottinger to Elphinstone, 23-11-1819.

20. Ibid. Pottinger to Elphinstone. 17-7-1818.

21. Briggs private Letters. Vol. I. MSS EUR F88 Box 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone, Chandoor, 9-6-1818.

22. MSS EUR F88 Box 6A. Robertson to Elphinstone. 12-9-1818.

23. MSS EUR F88 Box III C. Robertson to Elphinstone. 23-8-1818.

24. Ibid.

25. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A. Elphinstone to Hastings, 7-3-1818.

26. Chittor Singh his identity is not known, some believe that he was the uncle of Raja Pratap Sinha of Satara.

27. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A. Orders for the Summary Execution of Plunderers. (Execution of three Men for Treason).

28. Choksey R.D. The Aftermath 1818-1826, Bombay, 1950, p.24.

29. D.C. File for the year 1818, Robertson to Elphinstone, 8-4-1818.

30. Pottinger's Private Letters : Vol. II. MSS EUR F88 Box 7B. Pottinger to Elphinstone, 27-4-1818.

31. Colebrooke, T.E. op.cit. Vol. II, pp.40-41. Elphinstone to Captain Close, 16-4-1818.

32. Bearce G.D. British Attitudes Towards India 1784-1858. Oxford 1961, pp.131-132.

33. Strachey Papers : MSS EUR F128 Box 7. Strachey to Elphinstone, 18-9-1819.

34. Colebrooke T.E. op.cit. Vol. II, p.45.

35. Strachey Papers : MSS EUR F128 Box 7. Elphinstone to Strachey, 3-9-1820.

36. Colebrooke T.E. op.cit. Vol. II, pp.45-46.

37. Ballhatchet K, Social Policy and Social Change in Western India, 1817-1830, London, 1957, p.36.

38. Forrest G.W. Selections from the minutes of The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone', London, 1884. Minutes of Education, p.80.

39. Stokes E. English Utilitarian and India, Oxford, 1969, pp.5-6.

40. Ibid, p.9.

41. Gleig, G.R., The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, London, 1830, Vol. III, 'Minute of Munro on the State of the Country', p.381.
42. Ibid, p.252. Munro to Elphinstone, 12-5-1818.
43. Stokes E, op.cit. p.10.
44. Ibid, p.21.
45. Ibid, p.9.
46. Ballhatchet K. op.cit. p.32.
47. Colebrooke T.E. op.cit. Vol. II, pp.297-299.
48. Bearce G.D. op.cit. p.16.
49. Kulkarni, A.R. : Village Life In The Deccan In the 17th Century : The Indian Economic And Social Review; Delhi, Vol. II, New Series, No. 1. April 1967, p.39.
50. Ibid and P.D. File, Vol. 89, Robertson to Elphinstone, 9-3-1818.
51. P.D. File Vol. 458. Elphinstone to Hastings, Camp near Poona, 18-6-1818.
52. Elphinstone to Erskine, 4-8-1818, quoted by Colebrooke T.E., op.cit. Vol. II, p.46.
53. Ballhatchet K. op.cit., p.30.
54. Colebrooke T.E. op.cit, Vol. II, p.42.
55. Ibid, p.95.
56. Bearce G.D. op.cit. p.135.
57. Ballhatchet op.cit. K. p.105.
58. Munro to Elphinstone, 12-5-1818, quoted by Beaglehole, T.H. 'Thomas Munro And the Development of

Administrative Policy India in Madras 1792-1818' Cambridge 1966, p.128.

59. Gleig G.R. The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro Vol. II, p.15.

60. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A.

61. Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVI, pp.224-26. Henry Pottinger came to India in 1803. In Bombay he studied and acquired a knowledge of the native languages. He worked well, became an assistant teacher and on 18th September 1806, was made an ensign, being promoted lieutenant on 16th July 1809. He had already won fame as a daring explorer. After going to Sind in the Hankey Smith mission of 1809, he had volunteered with a friend to explore the country between India and Persia. The local inhabitants had not been deceived by the elaborate disguise adopted by the two friends, but Pottinger returned safely to Bombay and in 1816 his report on his travels was published.

62. Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. II, p.1236.

63. Briggs Letters : Vol. I. MSS EUR F88 Box 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone, 19-7-1818.

64. Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. VI, p.130-131.

65. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. pp.15-16.

66. Choksey R.D. Aftermath p.21.

67. Maharashtra Archives, Bulletin of The Department of Archives No. 6 ed. V.G. Khobrekar, First Protest

of East India Company's Civil Servants of Bombay Presidency (1820-1822), by V.G. Khobrekar, p.2.

68. Ibid. These civil officers strongly resented when they were allowed to continue in their respective position even after the annexation of the Deccan territory to the Bombay Presidency in November 1819. This question will be dealt in the conclusion.

69. Ballhatchet K. op.cit. p.105.

70. D.C. File, Vol. 402. Elphinstone to Pottinger, 22-4-1818. This circular was sent to the other Collectors also.

71. Political Dept. Diary, Vol. 448. J. Adam to M. Elphinstone, 15-12-1817.

72. D.C. File, Vol. 402, Elphinstone to J. Grant, 8-4-1818.

73. Ibid.

CHAPTER V

SETTLEMENT MADE WITH THE MILITARY AND CIVIL SERVANTS

Mountstuart Elphinstone's insistence on the preservation of Maratha institutions was extended to the Jagirdars, Watandars and Inamdars with whose fate he showed special concern during his administration. He had expressed the importance of preserving the privileges of the Maratha nobility in his letter to Secretary Metcalfe while reporting to him the terms of this settlement. 'The British' he wrote, 'were committed to preserve them and much would be gained through loyal attachment of a flourishing and contented portion of the old nobility.'[1] The Jagirdars and Wentandars were 'all given jagir in lieu of pay for their service.' The Inamdars received rewards for their services in the past.

Jagirdars

Jagirdars were Saranjamdars; the jagir given to them initially was not a hereditary one, but in the course of time, it acquired permanent occupancy rights. It was a Muslim tradition that had found place in the political organization of the Marathas, though Shivaji tried to suspend it for sometime. Shivaji paid his nobles for their military services in cash. This sound policy was however abandoned during the critical days of Marathas particularly after the death of Shivaji. During the time of Rajaram i.e.

1689 onwards we find the gradual re-introduction of the Saranjamdari system, which ultimately under the Peshwa developed into the 'jagir system'.

Watandari system had been a part of the village administration since a long time, remained, with some modification, even under the British. These Watandars enjoyed rent-free land in perpetuity for their services. The Inamdars, however did not perform any regular service. It was a reward for their services in the past. Their grants were perpetual, but not necessarily rent-free. Sometimes they paid 1/2, 1/3, or 1/4 of the normal rent as mentioned in their Inam deed. Religious inams, were usually rent free. They were given for the performance of specific religious duties.

The Purpose of Maintenance of the Maratha Servants

Elphinstone had come to understand that the Jagirdars and the Wantandars had enjoyed high status in society and exercised a decisive influence over the people of Maharashtra. It was pointed out that the Jagirdars were required not only to furnish troops, but also to manage their jagirs. The Wantandars in particular were very conscious of their privileges and perquisites which they enjoyed from their State. For example, Captain Grant once wrote to Elphinstone that he was surprised to see 'two women fight and tear each other in the streets of Satara because the one had removed a loose stone from the house; which was a part of her watan'[2] Such a feeling was found universal. They attached so much sentiments to their watan that even if it was only a few blades of bajri from the vegetable seller they would have it. They added much significance to their watan than the value of the things.[3] Elphinstone realised they were a power to be reckoned with, therefore it was the duty of theGovernment to give them their just dues. Besides that it was this class that had suffered greatly during the revolution. To support their case Elphinstone wrote to the Governor General, "The tranquillity of the country and the future success of our administration are so much involved in the grant of liberal provision to the civil and military officers of the late Government."[4] At the same time he also felt that the maintenance of many of the chiefs in their possession was necessary, for the purpose of avoiding popular discontent and preventing the too rapid fall of great families for, he believed that the aristocratic class was the pride and cream of society - hence it was essential to retain it. Being an aristocrat himself, he had sympathy for the social groups in India whose position seemed threatened by Western method of Government.[5]

Elphinstone like Malcolm, had no illusion that the British rule could ever rest on the affection of the people. Its security depended on the impression of its invincibility.[6] But he believed that it was politic to try to conciliate the impact of a foreign dominion by an attempt to preserve something of the methods and institutions of Indian society, and to palliate the undesirable effects of direct rule at the hands of a foreign race by encouraging the survival of the Indian States.[7] Metcalfe, unlike them was pessimistic about the idea of conciliating the old ruling classes. On the contrary he believed that, the soundest policy was to use every possible occasion to annex native states, and to resume their pensions and revenue, and alienations made to privileged classes before the British conquest. The revenue thus acquired could be utilised for maintaining armed forces instead of wasting it on idle and lazy Indians whose loyalty they could not count on.[8] While Munro took a middle stand; he sought to preserve all classes of Indian society, even the aristocracy which had traditional roles in Indian Government. Though he disliked zamindari landlordism, yet he ~~ever~~ tolerated the few established zamindars in Madras rather than destroy people who represented the remnants of an aristocracy and who might develope into a public spirited gentry.[9] Elphinstone and Malcolm on the other hand disliked the notion of sacrificing the aristocracy in the interests of the peasantry and wanted to preserve Indian society in all its rich variety.[10] Elphinstone pointed out that the good side of Hindu administration, was that, the Hindu social institutions based on aristocratic predominance and social status with middle and lower middle class or the relationship between the governors and the governed, provided an ideal model to be followed by the British.[11]

In short, it can be said that Elphinstone was not only interested in maintaining the aristocratic class but also the middle and lower middle class which consisted of both military and civil officers and other government servants respectively.

An attempt has been made for the first time in the present chapter to give an account of the various individual cases both from the nobility and the middle classes. The study is based mainly on original sources available in the India Office Library, Deccan Commissioner's Files, Hak Files and the unpublished part of Elphinstone's Report. In all there were 590 candidates plus the Watandars, and the Southern Jagirdars in the Karnatak.

Watandars

Settlement with the Watandars i.e. civil officials such as the Patils, the Deshmukhs, the Deshpandes etc. was done immediately after the war as they remained the backbone of the new administration, as they had been of the old. But their position was greatly changed. Under the old government some were men of wealth and power; all were respected by the people. However there was little uniformity among them. Now both their powers and their salaries were to be determined by the Government according to a fixed rule upon one level, and that too a low one.[12]

Southern Jagirdars

Next, he turned his attention towards the Southern Jagirdars, who played a dominent role in Maratha politics. In fact the main part of the army was under their control. Though legally they were under the control of the Pune Government, in reality they were almost independent.[13] Therefore a seperate agreement had to be made with each one of them.

The Southern Jagirdars occupied the territories to the South of Pune in the Karnatak. This group consisted of the Patwardhans, Appa Desai of Nipani, Appa Desai of Kittur and a few smaller jagirdars such as the Raja of Ramdurg etc. Out of them the Patwardhans were the most important and powerful. They were the only chiefs who had a well trained army, rich and prosperous lands and happy, contented subjects. Their territories lay just adjacent to that of the Raja of Satara and legally they fell under the jurisdiction of the Raja of Satara. But, such an adjustment would not suit the purpose of the English, who followed the policy of divide and rule. As has been remarked by Munro in his letter to Elphinstone, 'it is an object not to make them look to Satara, as their Vakeels assembled at that court.'[14] Thus the management of the Southern jagirdars was entrusted to the Collector of Dharwar rather than to the political agent at Satara.

Elphinstone decided to adhere to his promise, as the jagirdars had obeyed his orders by keeping themselves away from the war.

Attitude of the Jagirdars During the War

As previously stated, the task of reducing the jagirdars was given to General Munro. It has been observed that when war broke out these jagirdars, no doubt apparently gathered round the Peshwa's standard but none of them except Bapu Gokhale had his heart in the struggle. Irrespective of the orders of the Peshwa, the chiefs did not in the least co-operate or support Gokhale.[15] During the war period the policy of the Patwardhans seemed wavering and undecided, hence Elphinstone stressed the importance of assuring the jagirdars that, inspite of their war with the Peshwa, the British Government did not intend to adopt any measures that would effect the interests and independence of the principal Maratha chiefs and jagirdars.[16] Keeping this policy in view, soon after the commencement of war Elphinstone had despatched letters to all the jagirdars, wherein he laid the whole blame of the outbreak of war on the Peshwa, and gave a detail account of how the latter had violated the Treaty of Poona, and of other misdeeds.[17] Then just after the battle of Yerwada, it was declared that only the territory immediately under the Peshwa and the jagir of Gokhale would be treated as enemy territory while that under all other jagirdars as friendly.

The effect of this policy was that in self-interest, the Patwardhans and others remained psychologically attached to the British.[18] Yet Elphinstone was all the time apprehensive of the fact that there may arise a patriotic feeling among them which might induce them to unite. In his letter to Munro, he instructed him to inform the jagirdars that those who would submit in the war soon and would be ready to accept the same terms of the Pandharpur agreement would be rewarded, plus they were to be given time up to the end of February 1818 to return and if they failed to surrender by March 1, 1818 then he would be at liberty to grant any terms that he thought expedient as they were not bound by any promises to them.[19] Though the jagirdars tried to put up a strong resistance they could not succeed due to the able generalship of Munro, who by January 25, 1818 managed to bring the major portion of the Southern Country under his control. He wrote to Elphinstone, "We are in possession of all the country South of Mulpurbah except a part of the District of Hungoond in the N.E. angle of which we shall get possession in a few days. We have also a number of villages beyond the Mulpurbah."[20] The battle with them continued and it was only after the battle of Asti and the death of Gokhale, giving up all hopes of victory, the jagirdars finally decided to surrender and send their respective vakils to Munro, asking for terms of agreement.[21]

A query of ten questions was sent by Elphinstone to

Munro, explaining how the settlement was to be brought about with the jagirdars :

(1) How much was the total revenue of the Peshwa Country and how much was to be given to them
(2) Whether to give back the whole or part.
(3) How to manage the problem of soldiery
(4) How to settle the question relating to ministers and dependents of the Peshwa's Government, staying in this part of the country.
(5) Whether they should employ the same revenue officers, gives his reasons both for and against it.
(7) What jurisdiction was to be maintained in jagir lands.
(8) Whether they should collect the revenue up to the new year or not.
(9) How much liberty was to be given to them.
(10) About trade, a detail account of the questionnaire is given in the appendix.[22]

Difficulties faced by Munro

Munro who was entrusted with this task faced a number of difficulties, as there were several disputes among the Patwardhan family which had to be solved. Besides this they had certain claims on the Government which had to be adjusted. For example the chief of Jamkhandi had possession over the Deshmukhi of that place (Jamkhandi) which he should be allowed to retain, if he behaved well, although the Peshwa had denied its being included in the Jagirdar's sanads. The chief of Kurundwad had very extensive claims against the Kitturkar for the districts of Sampagaon and Bagewadi usurped by the latter. On the other hand the Kitturkar had claim on the whole of the Patwardhan family for various little portions of their revenue granted to him by the Peshwa with a view to harassing both the parties. It was the aim of Munro not to allow the same policy to continue and to bring about a settlement which would satisfy both the parties.[23]

Munro was aware of Chintaman Rao's behaviour, who was the head of the Patwardhan family. The latter had given Elphinstone a hard time when the Pandharpur Agreement was being concluded - and he would not easily accept any terms that were offered to him. Dealing with the Patwardhan was not going to be easy as there existed a family dispute between Chintaman Rao and his cousin, the chief of Miraj, regarding their shares in the jagir of their family property. This had led to the utmost enmity between the chiefs and perhaps indirectly to Chintaman Rao's adopting the Peshwa's cause.[24] He had always been dissatisfied with the British Government, even before the war, and had been drawn into the Council of the Peshwa and Gokhale.[25]

Due to ill health Munro could not complete the work assigned to him and Elphinstone was instructed to take over the task.[26]

Settlement Made by Elphinstone

Elphinstone was confronted with a delicate situation. When he took over the work of settlement which had already made some progress under Munro. Munro had promised something to the Patwardhans, and therefore it became his duty to take them into account. For example, when he discussed the question of a reward with Ganpat Rao Patwardhan, the latter showed some anxiety for an increase in the amount and also a promise that 'none of his relations should have an equal gratification.'[27] Ganpat Rao gave his reasons and brought to the notice of Elphinstone that it had been promised to him by Munro.[28] A letter written by Munro to Ganpatrao showed all the twenty three demands made by the latter. Munro's reply was produced wherein it was clearly stated : "The country has now been settled, and your jageer shall be confirmed, in a regular agreement."[29] Though initially Elphinstone did not agree, he finally conceded that his reward might well be in proportion to his past services to the British, which had indeed been exceptional. He was given an addition of Rupees 40,000 to his jagir. This sum was more than anything given to any of the other Patwardhans, even to Chintaman Rao, whose estates were much bigger than Ganpat Rao.

Chintaman Rao, whose estates were the largest was eventually given Rs.30,000. His services during the war, were not pleasing to the British, and it was only out of consideration that he was the senior most members of the family that he was rewarded. The other Patwardhans similarly received rewards according to their services and standing.

The Rewards for the Patwardhans[30]

	Rupees
Ganpat Rao of Tasgaon	40,000
Keshav Rao of Kurundwad	30,000
Chintaman Rao of Sangli	30,000
Gopal Rao of Jamkhandi	30,000
Ganpat Rao of Shedbal	20,000
Madhav Rao of Miraj	20,000
Govind Rao of Chinchi	10,000
Gopal Rao of Miraj	10,000
	1,90,000

Once the question of reward was settled, the next question that came up was how to bring about an agreement that would be acceptable to the jagirdars.

Nature of The Agreement

After taking into account all the pros and cons of the problem, Elphinstone decided to settle each jagirdar's claims separately. His aim, however, was to give a permanent compensation in money for the service of their reduced quota of troops. This he pointed out would be beneficial to them, for, it would procure for their Government the services of

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(Nature of The Agreement)

Statement showing the Patwardhan's Revenue Contingents etc.

Sr. No.	Chief's Names	Revenue	Former Contingent	Present Contingents	Remarks
1.	Chintamn Rao of Sangli	6,34,000	1,800	450	Commuted for territory.
2.	Ganpat Rao of Miraj	4,93,000	1,210	302	His quota of horse is out of Proportion to his revenue on account of deduction made on his original agreement for the expenses of Miraj.
3.	Ganpat Rao of Tasgaon	1,99,000	573	..	Not yet settled with.
4.	Keshow Rao of Koorundwar	1,43,000	450	114	This is after deducting the revenue of the pergana of Sumpgaum (Sampgaon) and Bagoowaree (Bagewadi) the amount of which will be made upto him. On the other hand he has other claims, which may prevent the exceeding 120.*
5.	Ganpat Rao of Shedbal	1,43,000	450	114	The same to this chief.
		20,28,000	5,629	916	
				143	This will be added if Ganpat Rao accepts the agreement furnishing a fourth.

* This passage is pointed as transcribed. There is evidently some clerical error which too late to rectify.

an efficient body of horse[31] which would be convertible into pecuniary terms. However the proposal was left open for them to decide, though in the draft of each agreement it was stated, that the jagirdar in question was to maintain a fourth of his contingent or alternatively to pay an equivalent in cash (or cede an equivalent in land) at the rate of Rs.300 a horse.

Only with the exception of Chintaman Rao, none of the other jagirdars agreed to the proposal. The other jagirdars had a considerable number of stable horse and of old retainers of their families, whom they would have to employ in any case, otherwise these unemployed people would only create trouble and increase their burden. So they preferred to maintain contingents rather than pay money or cede land.[32] Hence in accordance to their wishes Elphinstone issued a statement showing the agreement entered with the Patwardhans and stating revenue and contingents to be retained by them. The chart on the opposite page gives the actual figures.

In short, it can be said that all the great jagirdars were allowed practical independence within their jagirs. They continued to be governed according to the terms of Pandharpur Agreement. They were allowed to continue the entire management of their jagirs, including the power of life and death over their subjects. The British were to interfere in case of very flagrant abuse of power or long continuance of gross misgovernment. It has been observed that the British always continued to follow the same policy while making an agreement. In one clause they would give concession and in the very next clause curtail it.

The question as to how the jagirs were to be inherited was very cleverly avoided by Elphinstone. The Patwardhan's custom had been that the eldest son should inherit the whole of his father's property. But Baji Rao had introduced the principle of dividing it among all the sons. Though he did not commit himself, all the same, he gave his opinion regarding both the points; - primogeniture, he held, would have the effect of maintaining large estates, while division would steadily reduce the size of each. But he declared that if large estates were to be maintained, they could not be in better hands than those of the Patwardhans, who were good landholders and administrators.[33]

Difficulties which Elphinstone had to face while making the Jagirdars come to an Agreement

Elphinstone faced a number of obstacles while handling the question of agreement with the jagirdars - as till then i.e. June 1818 Baji Rao had not officially surrendered and many of them continued to assert their loyalty to the office of the Peshwa though not to the person who filled it, even after they had left Baji Rao's camp.[34] The jagirdars were so insistent and stubborn that they told Munro, (who was then handling the issue) that they regarded it as a disgrace to abandon it for others. Munro after trying all means to conciliate them had written to Elphinstone that "the easiest way of subduing their prejudices and rendering them useful feudatories would be for the Company to take upon itself the office of the Peshwa and to issue all public act as coming from the Pundit Purdhan as under the late Government. Investiture might be received according to custom from the Raja of Sattarh".[35] To this Elphinstone retorted that the Raja was not intended to be a pageant but to be, as soon as he was strong enough, the real and efficient head of a small state.[36]

Elphinstone pointed out that among them all Chintaman Rao was the most intelligent and revolutionary man. When he had written to him about the terms of the agreement, he immediately wrote back challenging the agreement and said that according to the Pandharpur agreement he was supposed to serve the Peshwa faithfully so, "I am to serve the latter". He also demanded that "Cowle to the effect ought to have been sent to me from the British Government of Europe, engaging that the terms of the Pundarpoor should be confirmed......"[37] But Elphinstone dismissed this as 'a sophistry', and pointed out that the Pandharpur agreement had protected the jagirdars from encroachments by the Peshwa.[38]

Regarding rendering of military service Ganpat Rao of Tasgaon claimed that he had received a guarantee from Munro that he should not be called on to serve and that 'a few horse furnished once in ten years in the way of friendship would be the most that would be required of him.' He further suggested to Elphinstone, that he should be required to serve either for not more than one year in ten with all his horse or at all times with one-tenth of his horse.[39] But both these suggestions as entirely disproportionate to the service which the other jagirdars would have to do and Ganpat Rao finally agreed to maintain at all times one-fourth of his contingent. In this way every argument put forward was retaliated; and the jagirdars had no alternative but to accept the terms. As Chintaman Rao was the head of the family, it was felt that it would be wiser to make him first sign the Treaty and then ther others would follow.

Chintaman Rao with all his radical attitudes finally accepted the terms drawn up by Elphinstone on May 15, 1819, and as rightly predicted by Elphinstone, all of them signed the agreement by June 6, 1819.

In short, it can be said that though the Patwardhans seemed dissatisfied over the settlement brought about, but at the same time it cannot be denied that they gained the most from the war. They were all allowed (1) to retain the jagirs, (2) they all continued to maintain contingents (3) they were all rewarded with additions to the personal part of their jagirs, (4) the jagirdars relinquished the privileges of coining money and levying customs within their own jurisdiction,[40] - though some received greater rewards than others.

Besides the Patwardhan family there were two more important jagirdars in the South, Appa Desai of Kittur and Appa Desai of Nipani. They too held the same position as the Patwardhans during the days of the Peshwa and they too were rewarded by the British.

Appa Desai of Nipani

Appa Desai was a petty Jagirdar of Nipani, a place in modern Belgaum district of the Karnatak State. He had remained with the Peshwa till his defeat by Col. Adams. This Sardar had, all through the struggle, kept up communications with General Munro or Elphinstone. He had counselled peace with the Peshwa and had shown no particular activity against the British during the war. From Elphinstone's letter to Munro it appears that he disliked Appa, for he writes, "I have perhaps not been civil to him (Nepauneekar), but right or wrong, we must fulfil all the expectation.."[41] Besides that Elphinstone had to admit Appa Desai to the terms of Pandharpur as he had made a promise.'[42] It was promised to the Raja of Kolhapur, that the disputed districts of Chikodi and Manoli would be taken away from Appa Desai and handed over to him. The districts were worth from Rs.3,50,000 to Rs.4,00,000. Appa also lost his claim to tribute (chauth) from the Nizam's territories, but in compensation he was given lands worth about Rs.90,000 a year. Moreover, he was given a personal jagir and allowances worth Rs.62,000 a year and he was allowed to keep the rest of his estates worth about Rs.2,70,000 a year.[43] Like the Patwardhans he too had to render military service.

Appa Desai of Kittur

Elphinstone and Munro both agreed that the Desai was to be formally invested with his ancient character of a tributary Prince. Though Robertson, the Collector of Poona had informed that "Appa Dessai had a hand in the admission of Trimbakji into the Peshwa's army, at the same time there were rumours that his exertions were used more to meet the Peshwa's inclinations than the contrary... Appa Dessai is very deserving of punishment...."[44] However, much heed was not given to this point as Trimbakji had been arrested and the Peshwa too was out of the scene. The Governor-General too approved that "Dessai of Kittur - should be placed distinctly on the footing of a Tributary Chief and to pay a fixed Paishcush of 175,000 Shahpoor Rupees to the British Government and to receive annually an honorary dress of the value of Rs.3955."[45] Though for the last two years the Desai had not made any payment to the Peshwa Government, the British Government excused him from one year's payment and the other year's sum was given to him as reward. In this way his arrears were remitted. As a jagirdar of the Peshwa he had to provide the service of 473 horse; the new Government remitted this service and resumed an equivalent in land.[46]

Elphinstone also settled the privileges of those jagirdars who held their estates from the Raja of Satara. A fresh agreement was signed with the jagirdars of Aundh, Bhor, Akalkot, Phaltan, Jath and Wai who chose to remain with the Raja of Satara. The jagirdars of Mudhol, Nargund and Ramdurg opted for serving the British Government directly. Elphinstone had stipulated a guarantee of loyalty from the future generations of jagirdars by excluding the hereditary principle in the jagir grants. With all his love for nobility Elphinstone could not spare any Maratha noble who was not willing to be loyal to the British Government.

The Governor General was greatly satisfied with the arrangements Elphinstone had made with the Southern Jagirdars. He also approved of Chaplin's appointment as Collector of Southern district.[47]

Settlement Made with The Maratha Government Servants

Having settled the shares of the top leaders, Elphinstone turned his attention towards the claims of other military and civil officials. They were as previously stated in all 590 servants, whose fate had to be decided. A Proclamation had already been issued, calling on all the jagirdars and others to come and show their personal jagir, latest by September 15, 1818, if they wanted their claims to be taken into consideration. Elphinstone desired to give everyone their just dues though he knew that it was going to be a difficult affair and would involve a number of complications. Robertson the collector of Pune wrote to him, "Everyone is striving hard to be taken into consideration, some having just claims, many none and many with pretended claims on the new government."[48] Besides that, there were people who had claims to jagir but could not produce their sanads as they were desroyed. Pottinger the Collector of Ahmednagar said that it could be quite impossible in some of the districts under his charge as 'they were devasted by the pindaries and other rational excuses were in all probability justly adduced as the cause of any proofs on these points.'[49] But all the same Elphinstone was determined and in his circular letter to his collectors he asked them to extract from the Peshwa's Dafter a full account of the jagir and to ascertain as correctly as possible the character and history of each jagirdar with the time when he made his submission to the British Government. He too had supplied them with lists of personal jagir and asked his collectors to ascertain their actual value and whether they were in force upto the breaking of the war.[50]

Co-Workers Advice Considered by Elphinstone

Elphinstone had to take into consideration the suggestion made by his colleagues and had to give special consideration to those persons whose name had been suggested by them. Malcolm wrote to Elphinstone that during his negotiation with the Peshwa he had pledged that the claims of the jagirdars would be taken into consideration especially, Vinchurkar, Purandare and the family of Gokhale. He requested that their personal jagirs should be left to them but not the Saranjami Lands. Regarding Vinchurkar he said that he had been very helpful in bringing about a settlement with Baji Rao, and 'he should be given five or six thousand of his horse being kept in the English service in any way you chose.'[51]

Briggs the Collector of Khandesh wrote to Elphinstone that as one Jayaji Patil of Ahurgaum had betrayed Trimbakji Dengle, it had become easy to capture him. He therefore recommended, that Elphinstone should take a favourable notice of this act of Jayaji Patil.'[52] Besides him, there was another person called by the name of Shivaji, of the same village, who considered his life in imminent danger as he was an informer against Trimbakji. Briggs suggested that the village Ahurgaum be given to him by a sanad in perpetuity which would fetch an annual revenue of Rs. 1,500.[53]

Besides taking into consideration the advice of his Collector, he even took into consideration the advise of Ballaji Pant Natu, their chief consultant in Maratha affairs. Natu had brought to the notice of Captain Grant that Janardhan Sewajee Mahiskar should be given a pension of Rs.1000 as he was an intriguer and had supplied great information during the war. Therefore Grant requested Elphinstone that Natu's suggestion should not be ignored.[54]

Grant gives the names of many people who had helped Natu in giving information and who in turn, very sincerely, conveyed it to them.

Lists containing the names of the people stating (1) how much land they had and for how long it had been in their possession, (2) how much pension they were receiving and (3) how much they should be given. Grant had submitted two lists of names. The first list records only names of individuals due for pension. There were 174 names and the total pensions came to Rs.2,12,500. The second list begins from No. 175 and ends with 195. This list gives names with remarks on what each individual had done. A few names even on the first list bear some remarks. From the marginal notes in the handwriting of Elphinstone it seems that he knew them all personally.[55] When all the Collectors submitted their respective lists they were handed over to Mac'Donell who had been appointed to survey the Peshwa Daftar records.

Instructions given to Mac'Donell

Mac'Donell was instructed to compare the list drawn up by the Collectors with those drawn up by him from the Peshwa's Daftar.

A complete Register was formed on this comparison showing (1) the name of the holder of each Jagir, (2) the date and the nature of the land (3) the sources of the revenue when not drawn from land with the Kamal or highest revenue as stated by the jagirdars (4) and actual collection as reported by the British Officers,[56] ~~as reported by the British officers.~~ Elphinstone and his co-workers had to face a number of difficulties while adjusting the claims of lesser jagirdars because they had no contingents to furnish, and they held their lands like private estates. Hence Elphiustone issued out certain instructions which were to be followed while making the settlement.

1. Elphinstone instructed that when a Jagirdar had no fixed villages for his personal Tainat then he was to receive villages of the average goodness of the Pargana. The Tunkah, of which should amount to the sum fixed for his personal Tainat and in cases where the grant to the Jagirdars had been regulated by the Kamal instead of the Tunkah, then he would receive villages the Kamal of which would amount to his personal Tainat. Elphinstone said that the jagirdars could be given permission to select a village of his choice for his residence. The rest would be fixed by the Government as would be most convenient and Elphinstone said that if the jagirdar chose willingly to take money instead, it would be so much the better, this sum should be something above the actual collection from the villages that he would otherwise receive.

2. In cases where a large proportion consist in partial collections in money and kind on the lands of other persons (amal) one village could be granted and the rest of the personal allowance made in money the amount to be

regulated by an average of the collection from those sources.

3. The same principle was to be adopted even if the whole jagir would consist of Amals.

4. The holders of Mokassa in districts where the Revenue had much declined would probably be given a fixed pecuniary, payment, which though much inferior to what the Mokassa would hereafter rise to, which would still be considerably above the receipt from that sources. Elphinstone advised his officers that bargains of this kind 'ought always to be concluded when they appear favourable to Government when Mokassa is derivable from the villages in possession of Foreign States.'

5. The above rule was applicable to jagirs it should be recommended to Government to exchange any that would be within the Territories of Foreign Powers.

6. Where money was given in lieu of Jagirs situated in Satara, the sum was to be paid by the Raja who was to receive the villages.

7. No Saranjam ceded to the British Government by the Treaty of 1817 and no jagir actually enjoyed upto the war to be restored unless specially directed.

8. In all cases of Mootsuddees where they do not reside their jagir and had no particular ground of attachment to it, a pecuniary payment somewhat exceeding the produce of the jagir ought to be made instead of actual restoration unless in peculiar cases.

9. In cases where members of the Hoojrat and other persons whose jagir it was absolutely necessary to continue had a large share of their resources within the Nizam's country. Elphinstone said that an application should be made to that Prince to continue them in the same manner as Enam.[57]

Mac'Donell prepared the list according to these instructions and handed it over to Elphinstone. He in turn once again examined each and every case individually e.g. Mac'Donell list showed 50 great jagirdars but when checked by Elphinstone it was found that there were 56 jagirdars. Similarly changes were made in other classes also. The chart No. 1 given on next page gives the list prepared by Mac'Donell and Chart No. 2 in the following page shows the list prepared by Elphinstone. By comparing the two chart one can see how particular and careful Elphinstone was, over minute things.

This section of the chapter showing the 'jagir statement' i.e. Chart No. 2 and Chart No. 3 to be followed showing the 'Pensions Granted' - is taken entirely from the unpublished part of Elphinstone's Report.

Elphinstone's Jagir Statement

In all as previously stated there were 590 officials and servants whose fate had been decided by Elphinstone. This list did not include the list submitted by Grant containing the names of 195 officials - as they were treated

215
~~216~~

Mac'Donald's List

Sr. No.	Name	Jagir	Umul	Total	Inams
1.	Jagirdars or chief (50)	3,46,928 8½	32,001 9	8,45,935 6	2,11,702 14
2.	Mootsuddees (64)	2,74,309 4¾			45,902
3.	Hoojrat (14)	2,46,345 7½			34,168 4¾
4.	Silledars (64)	56,061 8¼	23,544 10	79,606 2¼	12,089 6
5.	**Mootsuddies of Foreign States**				
	Holkars Mootsudies (10)	36,403 1½			99,418 3½
	Holkars Silledars (5)				
6.	Sindhia's Mootsuddees (7)				2,003
	Sindia's Silledars (3)				9,832
7.	Jagirs alloted to Dependants of His Highness the Nizam	21,658 15			1,35,249 6½
8.	Peshkar's Paga	64,698 2½			6,390
9.	Killedars	45,638 13			12,883 8¼
10.	Kitta or Sundry Jagirdars	24,1[illegible] [illegible]			18,635 2

Statement showing the Jagirs or compensation in lieu of them to be continued in the country conquered from the Peshwa.

Sr. No.	Class	Jagir or yearly allowances to be continued Kamal or greatest recorded collection		Estimate real value at present		Pecuniary Pension	
1.	Sardars of Great Chiefs (56)	9,80,688	7¾	5,30,433	12¼	68,918	2
2.	Mootsuddees (62)	1,56,054	14¾	1,04,010	12½	27,950	
3.	Hoozrat (94)	2,72,207	9.2/4	1,81,619	¾	3,000	
4.	Silledars (70)	70,805	13	46,651	9	1,280	
5.	Dependents of Foreign State (16)	46,877	14¾	22,201	11½		
6.	Paga (cavalry) chiefs (32)	40,829	5	25,861	12¼	6,750	
7.	Killedars (12)	44,820	6	27,608	9½		
8.	Kitta (15)	9,311	7	5,433	1¾	7,120	
		16,21,595	13¾	9,43,820	5¾	1,15,018	2
	Add Pecuniary Pension			1,15,018	2		
		16,21,595	13¾	10,58,838	7¾		
	Deduct in Sattara	4,82,694	4¼	3,12,568	10¾		
	Remains	11,38,901	9½	7,46,269	13		

separately because they fell under the jurisdiction of the Raja of Satara. Yet their fate too was decided by Elphinstone as the Raja had not taken over the Government.

The calculated estimates of grant at Elphinstone's disposal was Rs.18,34,510 of which about Rs.5,00,000 were for pensions of the Government under the heads of Nemnooks and Varshasans which could be resumed later on.

The above amount of Rs.18,34,510 was divided accordingly:

1.	Personal allowance (Jagir) as shown in Chart No. 2	7,46,269
2.	Rewards to Adherents	1,00,000
3.	Pension recommended as shown in Chart No. 3 but show a slight difference	2,88,301
4.	Pensions of the old Government continued partly as religious	5,00,000
5.	Religious Expenses	
		18,34,510

For the sake of convenience this list if 590 was classified into two categories. Chart No. 2 on the opposite page shows the first category of officials, they were 357 in number and their expenditure was Rs.7,46,269. According to their ranks such as Sardars or greater chiefs, Mutsadhees, Huzrat, Silledars, Paga chiefs etc. they were put under eight different classes and how much was spent on each class was assessed.

Chart No. 3 on page 224 shows the second category of officials they were 233 in number. They were put under nine different heads according to their status - such as ministers of former times, ruined sardars, late military chiefs, Baji Rao Peshwa's ministers, etc. For the sake of convenience Chart No. 2 is being dealt first.

Jagirdars:

They were fifty-six in all. The object was to consolidate their jagirs, so as to make things more convenient for the Government. At the same time he tried to accommodate the jagirdars in the best possible way. Those sardars from great families who held their jagir authentically, were recommended to be "hereditary", i.e. they were allowed to retain their jagir, while others were given compensation in lieu of their jagir. Some of them like Vinchurkar, Madhav Rao Rastia etc. were rewarded. Elphinstone faced a number of difficulties as all of them did not have their jagir in the Peshwa's territories, some of them had their jagir in Hindustan and some in the Deccan, while some of them had in both the countries. For instance, Gopal Rao Raja Bahadur of Malegaon had a great jagir in Hindustan and in the Deccan also. He was in the service of Mahadji Shinde in Hindustan - but he lost his lands in the confusion and those in the Deccan were resumed. Similarly Mahadev Rao Trimbak Raja Bahadur had his jagir both in Hindustan and Deccan. But he had not succeeded in proving his claim, hence

Elphinstone said that 'he could get them only if it was proved that he had a just title to those lands.'

Then there were some Sardars who had held their jagir for more than 100 years and they were deprived of their jagir by Peshwa Baji Rao.[58]

Elphinstone took a sympathetic attitude towards their claims, most of them were allowed to retain their jagir, but of course there were always some exception, for example, Ranoji Pawar Vishwas Rao was a Silledar in the service of ~~the~~ Vinchurkar, and he held a jagir of one lakh of Rupees. Elphinstone took the decision only to give him a pecuniary pension of Rs.500 a year because though he was a person of great rank, yet it appeared from his record that he had no claim to any jagir. It seemed that the greater part of his jagir had been resumed by Baji Rao and only a small part of it was left which was not worth more than Rs.4,000, out of which Rs.500 had been embezzeled for the last 14 years. Another example was that of Amar Singh Jadoo Rao - who had held his jagir for 100 years. His father was in the service of the first Peshwa. A part of his jagir was in the Nizam s territory but he was to receive only the jagir which was within the Peshwa's late country.

Elphinstone took into consideration the cases of those Sardars, who had remained with the Peshwa till the last moment and submitted to theBritish only after the Peshwa had surrended to Malcolm. These sardars, though they had not co-operated with the British during the war, yet they were given their rightful claims - not because Elphinstone wanted to be too generous to them, but firstly they had been promised by the Treaty of June 3, 1818, by Malcolm. Secondly Elphinstone himself was aware of their power and influence over the country and hence satisfying their ego was a necessity. For instance the sons of Balloji Kunjar were given a pension of Rs.10,000 each till they lived, though their father had played a prominent role in putting Daulat Rao Shinde against the British Government. He was killed during the war. He was a man to be reckoned with - he had risen from a very low rank to the post of Prime Minister of Shinde. He was a rich man and had exercised a great influence over the people and army. His two sons, whom he had left behind, seemed to have inherited the qualities of their father and were loved by the people. Hence their claim could not be ignored by Elphinstone. Similarly the son of Malhar Rao Pawar Mathankar, too got his claim.

Nilkatha Rao Aba was the head of the Purandhare family. He had served as the Peshwa's Potnis (Treasurer). He was allowed to retain his personal jagir and even the villages which were alloted for his "Sardaree Khurch" (expense of his office) but Rs.4357 were deducted from it for the Duruckdars' (officers).

Sadashiv Mankeshwar the Peshwa's minister was dead but had left behind an adopted son, a widow, a brother and a nephew. Elphinstone said that no concession should be made to them as they were rich and well off. On the contrary it was decided that the lands of those jagirdars, which were confiscated to make up the jagir of Sadashiv Mankeshwar, 'should be now be resumed by the British Government, and some provision should be made out of the "fund" for these jagirdars.'[59]

II. Mutsadhees:

They were the vakeels of the Maratha Government. They were usually selected from the relations of the Peshwa. They represented the Maratha Government to different Courts. They were 62 in number whose case was decided by Elphinstone. Many of them did not submit, while many of them did not make their appearance at all. Regarding their claims it was decided that if the Mutsadhees neither resided in their respective jagir nor had they any particular ground of attachment to it; then in that case, a pecuniary payment somewhat exceeding the produce of the jagir ought to be made instead of actual restoration unless in exceptional cases.

Those Mutsadhees who resided in the Nizam's Court were allowed to retain their jagir with a few exception for instance in the case of Narottari, the decision taken was that his jagir should be ceded to the Nizam; as nothing was heard about him and besides that he had not occupied his land since the last 20 years.

Those Mutsadhees who did not take part in the war and had easily submitted such as Shivaram Raghunath, Nilkanth, Narro Ramchandra etc. - were all given a pension. While some of them such as Vinayak Nilkanth etc. were allowed to retain their jagir. While some of them were given both pension plus jagir e.g. Laxmanrao Krishna Kolhatkar who was the brother-in-law of Sadashiv Bhau who died in the battle of Panipat. He was allowed to receive his jagir village land and was even given a pension of Rs.1,500 a year but his Nemnooks (assignments) in the Konkan were stopped (so it can be said that in reality Rs.1500 were given in compensation for Nemnooks).

The Peshwa appointed some of his favourites as Mutsadhees such as Anyaba Raitekar, Vishnu Appaji Chitnis, Antaji Sadashiv, etc. among them who surrendered were allowed to retain their land or given a pension - but those who did not, were deprived of their claim. For instance Balaji Laxman refused to submit, hence Elphinstone said no provisions should be made.

Anyaba Raitekar had promised the British to get the fort of Shivneri, but broke his promise. So he was deprived of his jagir and was only given a pension of Rs.4000 a year.

Of the Mutsadhees who were dead most of their heirs were allowed to retain their jagir. Similarly those Mutsadhees who were the relatives of the Peshwa who had easily surrendered were allowed to retain their jagir, besides that the relatives of the dead were also taken into consideration.

III. Hoozrat

They were the ministers of the Raja of Satara. They allowed to retain their jagir such as the Pritinidhi, Anand Rao, Malhar Sumant etc. regarding the other Hoozrat no definite information is available. However he had suggested that the status quo was to be maintained. But at the same time he did not mention the period for which the jagir was to be continued.

IV. Silledar

In all there were 70 Silledars whose fate was to be decided - most of them remained absent and did not make their appearance at all. Of those who presented themselves - 12 were allowed to continue their jagir in perpetuity - 5 of them 'for life' and some Silledars their jagir was suspended till accounts were received.

V. Dependants of Foreign State

They were the courtiers or representative of other state. They were allowed to retain their jagir.

VI. Paga Chiefs or Cavalry Chiefs

They were 32 in number among them only 3 were allowed to continue their jagir as "Hereditary" while the rest of them got 'for life'.

P.T.O.

No. 3

224

Comparative Abstract of Pensions granted

		Amount of original list	Amount actually granted	Saved	Difference		Total Difference
					Villages granted instead	Not settled	
1.	Ministers of former times (23)	21,840	21,240	600	-	-	600
2.	Ruined Sardars (42)	64,300	56,714	3,700	1,386	2,500	7,586
3.	Late Military chiefs (41)	26,400	20,300	4,600		2,700	7,300
4.	Late Paishwa's Ministers (24)	26,500	20,850	4,650		1,000	5,650
5.	Shastrees (21)	14,000	10,100	3,900			3,900
6.	Miscellaneous (34)	26,041	26,041				
7.	Adherents of the British Government (86)	1,03,138	77,400	5,908	15,900	6,930	28,738
8.	Sungum Servents	4,734	3,257			1,477	1,477
9.	Intelligent Jossooses (46)	2,392	1,008			1,384	1,384
	Total	2,89,345	2,32,710	23,358	17,286	15,991	56,635

J. Macleod

Acting Secretary.

VII. Killedar

There were 12 Killedars, they were allowed to retain their jagir but nothing is stated in the agreement about the period for which they were to be continued.

In short, it can be said that those claimants who had submitted easily or supported the British or were people of importance were allowed to retain their jagir and they were allowed to continue with the jagir of their father, but in many cases it was written as 'could be diminished on the death of the present incumbent,'[60] this latter decision later on caused some difficulties to Elphinstone's successors.

Pensions Granted To Other Chiefs

Chart No. 3 deals with the pensions to be granted to those persons who did not hold jagir. They were as previously stated, the ministers of former times, ruined sardars, late military chiefs, ministers, shastrees etc. Some of them were in the service of Baji Rao II while some of them had retired and were receiving a pension by the late Government. Elphinstone took the decision 'to pension off all of them'.

I. The ruined Sardars came from very good families. They were released from hill forts on the Peshwa's rupture with the British. They had managed to find some sort of employment under the remaining great men who offered them a subsistence while the Peshwa's Government was falling off. The amount spent on these Sardars was Rs.64,300. Most of them got the same amount of pension. If the sardar was dead, or did not report to the Government, then the pension was divided among the sons or relatives or wives of the sardar. Some sardar got less than their actual pension, like Larojee Jadavrao who was supposed to get Rs.5000 but he got only Rs.3614 as his Inams were restored to him which itself amounted to Rs.1386.

Bhau Abhyankar of Faras Khana was dead but his pension of Rs.1000 was given to his brothers Visaji Trimbuck and Narso Trimbuck for the maintainance of the family.

II. Ministers of former times were those who had served during the days of Nana Fadnavis; and were deprived of their job by Baji Rao II. But they were all given a pension. The new Government too decided to keep up to the practice.

III. The late Military leaders, ~~who~~ were 41 in number. They were in the service of Baji Rao II and were ruined by the British Conquest. Most of them got the same amount of pension with only a few exception. Eyab Arab died; his wife got a pension of Rs.400, though he was supposed to get Rs.1000.

The brother of Bapu Shinde of Darwar, had died but had left behind him a widow and a cousin who lived together and for whose joint benefit a pension of Rs.1000 was granted -

it was the same amount which was given to Bapu Shinde.

IV. Late Peshwa's Ministers - they were 24 of them; some of them were pensioned for special reasons and some merely because they were respectable people. Most of them were given the same amount of pension, as they were supposed to get. Of course there were always a few exceptions, for instance, in the family of the Peshwa, his wife Varansibai was supposed to get a pension of Rs.3000, but in her case, it was decided that the burden of providing should rest with the Peshwa, as he was getting a pension.

V. The Shastris formed the intellectual class, they were the one's who were selected by Baji Rao II and who used to distribute among them a Dakshina of Rs.5 lakhs annually. The British Government had reduced this sum to Rs. 2 lakhs, but later on this disbursement of Dakshina was stopped and that sum was utilised in starting a College in Poona and these Shastris were to be employed in the College to teach the students. There were 21 Shastris. They were all given pensions though some of them had declined in assisting in the College - but as their services were useful they were allowed to continue their pension. For example Malhar Shastri was to get a pension of Rs.800 but he was given a pension of Rs.500 because he declined to assist in the college.

Daji Dixit Gok was given only Rs.300 as he had a Warshasan of Rs.400.

Bahajee Agashey was dead, he used to get a pension of Rs.600, but still the Government decided to give his son a pension of Rs.300 because he was a very learned man and had a school of much celebrity at Wai which had been kept up in the family for three generation. The amount to be spent on the Shastrees was Rs.14000.

VI. The miscellaneous group consisted of people whose identity was not known. All were allowed to continue their pension on actual amount stated. Many of them got their pension in lieu of their jagir.

VII. There were 86 persons who were adherents of the British. Government - many of them were only of service by their intelligence, but it even included Vakeels and Karkoons of some chiefs. Most of them were allowed to continue their pension.

VIII. Elphinstone took a very sympathetic attitude towards the servants and dependents of the old Residency at Poona, who would lose their jobs when the Commission would be dissolved. Many of these servants had been in service for more than 30 years and hardly any one of them had been in service for less than 18 or 20 years. These servants had to be taken into consideration as many of them had come from distant places with Sir Charles Malet, General Palmer, Sir Barry Close and a few with Elphinstone. All of them were allowed to continue their pension, but many of them were still in the service and so their fate could not be

General Abstract of Total (E. names & other Alienation of the Revenue)

Class	Pune Rs. A.P.	Ahmednagar Rs. A. P.	Satara Rs. A. P.	Khandesh Rs. A. P.	Karnatik Rs. A.P.	Patwardhan's Jahagirs Rs. A. P.
1. Inams	89828. 1.0	654491. 5.3	153295. 5.0	40543.11.3	243522.15.9	50070.14.0
2. Devristhans	74058. 1.6	49862. 4.9	35287.14.9	3926. 7.0	26779. 7.6	12374. 7.9
3. Suriristhans	30835. 8.0	17638.14.6	4705. 2.0	401. 0.0	-	-
4. Warshasans	2432. 4.0	20517. 0.0	9724. 4.6	2897. 6.0	28400. 7.6	13269. 4.6
5. Dewisthans & Warshasans (together)	-	-	-	-	15474. 0.0	-
6. Nemnuks	2359. 0.0	19217.12.0	6835. 4.0	1075. 0.0	146412. 8.0	-
7. Dharmadevs	635.10.0	23758. 0.0	40705. 9.6	25. 0.0	23513. 9.6	35111.11.9
8. Doubtful Inams or Dharmadevs	-	11594. 2.9	20162. 2.0	-	-	-
9. Rozinadars	360. 0.0	27709. 2.0	-	6626. 5.9	3364. 0.0	-
10. Pirs	2018. 8.0	2123. 8.6	1968. 7.9	193. 8.9	80543. 4.6	-
11. Miscellaneous allowances (Katta)	275. 0.0	5526.11.6	63666.14.3	17248. 4.0	27112. 6.9	28160.14.6
12. Khairats	15. 0.0	4528.11.0	3394. 1.9	13500. 9.6	1866.11.6	-
13. Allowances to Pirs & Khairat (together)	-	-	-	-	-	4619. 6.3
14. Balpururishi	15. 0.0	565. 0.0	759. 0.0	-	398. 5.6	-
15. Bakshish	614. 9.0	-	290. 0.0	-	-	-
16. Dahuji (Dahangi)	3.10.0	-	1914. 0.0	-	-	-
17. Mazuani (Majwani)	-	-	100. 0.0	-	-	-
18. Gardens	181. 6.0	-	-	-	-	-
19. Exemption (Maf)	-	-	69. 0.0	-	-	-
20. Lands & Buildings to Jamindars, Bhis etc.	9518. 6.0	5475.13.0	28456. 0.3	4376. 9.6	166929. 4.3	8879. 2.6
21. Ditto additional (doubtful)	-	-	552. 8.0	-	-	-
22. Shet Sanadi	190. 8.0	-	-	-	-	-
	213340. 8.0	843008. 5.0	371885. 9.6	90813.12.0	764317. 0.9	152785.13.0

Puna, 31st Aug. 1819.

J. Macleod.

decided. As the number of these persons was very considerably big the annual amount proposed for them was not more than Rs.4734 a year.

IX. The Intelligence Jasusis did the greatest service to the British, without whose assistance it would be difficult to win the war. All those who had been retired from service were allowed to continue the same amount of their pension many were still in service and so their fate could not be decided. Sometimes the pension was increased by Elphinstone, if he was pleased with their services. The amount kept as pension for these Jasusis was Rs.2,392.[61]

Inams And Other Alienation of the Revenue

The chart No. 4 given on the opposite page gives a clear picture of the different types of Inams and other Alienation that existed during the days of Baji Rao II. Elphinstone's aim was to preserve them all 'at least for the time being'.[62] The chart shows how much the British intended to spend on each one of them; and the total expenditure that would occur in each collectorate. The total expenditure calculated was Rs.24,152.2.0. From the documents available it has been observed that Inams were given mainly to the brahmins[63] for maintaining religious institutions and performing religious ceremonies. This was a class which could not be ignored, as Elphinstone himself wrote, "The preservation of religious establishments is always necessary in a conquered country, but more peculiarly so in, one where the brahmins have so long possessed the temporal power."[64] Being a firm believer in tradition himself he did not want to do away with the tradition and the customs. The Peshwa used to give presents to public servants on Dessara day. Elphinstone was of the opinion that 'this ceremony should be followed by the British Government also, the custom can afterwards be allowed to cease with the Provisional Government.'[65] He wrote to his collectors, "you have my permission to use your own discretion, moderate presents to your Hoozoor Establishment it does not appear necessary to make it general or to include the Sibundies - the sacrifices must of course be kept up."[66] As Elphinstone had given so much importances to these Inams and Alienations it becomes necessary for one to know and understand their value; and how he decided to implement them. The documents available show that some were deprived, some were rewarded, while in case of others their share was either reduced or they were given compensation.

Elphinstone's Instructions

Elphinstone in his letter to the collectors laid down certain which they had to follow while giving Inams and other alienations of the revenue.

1. All such grants as Nemnook, Rojine, Varshasans were subjected to rules, and were to be continued only if held by sanads and entered in the Poona Daftar. He had to prove

that he had received them at least six times within the ten years preceeding the last Maratha war.

2. Rojina allowances were to be continued to those who had them entered in the Poona Daftar or could produce a sanad of Baji Rao II since 1803. All those granted by the sardars who had the 'mootalikee sicca' (royal authority) since 1803 were confirmed even if not entered in the Poona Daftar - provided the incumbent could show that he received the amount for any five years during that period. In no case would the grant be continued if it could be proved that the late government had stopped it by orders.

3. All *Nemnooks* that were not paid once during the last five years were to be dropped. While those whose payment had been stopped within less than the last five years before the war were to be referred to Government; All 'nemnooks' and 'dharmadaos' if renewed or confirmed were to be immediately reported to Government.

4. All *Varshasans* granted by Baji Rao or his sardars who held the mootalikee sicca, were to be continued; provided they were paid from the treasury for 5 years before the war .... when the holder failed to bring a sanad, then he must at least give proof of the date of the grant... When the person holding the varshasan had died, his heir was to receive one half of it under the above test....[67]

When the lists were submitted Elphinstone would go through them personally and he would always manage to find fault for he writes in one place, "I therefore strongly recommend that you should not slacken your inquiries in the Districts."[68]

Implementation of Grants

Inam

An Inam is a free grant in perpetuity, without any implied condition, except that in some instances one-third of the rent called 'Inam Tizai' (1/3) is paid to the Government when it is not otherwise expressed in the Sanad.[69]

Inams were classed under six heads: (1) Hindu Inams. (2) Musulman Inams (Grants made) by rich Muslims to other poor muslims for religious purposes. (3) Dewustan (Devasthan). A grant of land for the maintenance of temples (4) Dhurmadao (Dharmadaya) Charitable grants. (5) Dehengi (Dehangi) donations. (6) Wantandar Inams - they were given to civil officers - such as Patil, Kulkarnis etc.

1. The Hindu Inams were further divided into seven different classes.

(1) Brahmin Inams: A brahmin was given sometimes allowances and sometimes Inam for maintaining the temples. For instance, the pujari of Chakan was put in charge of looking after the God called "Cuckereshwar and Moonjya". The pujari used to receive a certain amount per year fot it, but it was stopped when the British took over. So he petitioned to the Government and his appeal was taken into consideration and the latter was given Rs.22. per annum by the new Government.[70] The village of Mahavee (Mhavi)

was assigned to a brahmin, who used to look after the "God Bheyroba" (Bhairoba) by the former Government. But now that this village had come under his occupation, he was given a compensation.[71]

(2) *Gosain (Gosavi) Inams* - lands granted for the support of gosains and maths (monastery).

(3) *Maratha Inams* granted for distinguished military service.

(4) *Inam lands to bhats*: Gai charni badal ...... lands granted for grazing the cattle of gosains and byragi.

(5) *Jungums Inams* (Jangam Inams) were gifts to the Lingayat guru (who was called Jangam).

(6) 'Katrache Kutha (Fair or mela place) or land granted for keeping up and conveying flags to jatras where they were erected in honour of the presiding deity. These Inams were granted by the village authorities.[72]

3. *Devasthan* were revenues dedicated to the support of temples. They were granted on all kinds of property in various ways and were considered permanent. For example Nasik was a holy place, which was visited every year by thousands of pilligrims, just to pay a visit to the Shrine of a celebrated "Peerzadah" (Pirzada). Pottinger requested Elphinstone that a grant of Rs.500 from the public account should be kept aside for its maintenance.[73] This was accepted by Elphinstone. In Pune, lands and grains were assigned worth Rs.11,048.14½ in support of temples in the various parganas of Poona district.[74]

4. *Sansthan* is a place where a God is supposed to be actually present, or incarnate, for instance "Ganpati" is supposed to animate the living God at Chinchwad. Revenues dedicated to support of such persons or temples were called Sansthan and were granted in perpetuity.

5. *Swasthan* (own place), which is applied to the territories of petty Princes or Rajas, whose districts are considered entirely their own and governed independently by themselves, without any interference on the part of the Government. For instance the Raja Fatte Singh Gaikwad took a vow to the "tutelar Diety of Khundyrow" (Khanderao) at Nimgaon that he would beautify and enlarge it if he would succeed to the "Musnad". This vow he partly fulfilled before his death, and it was completed by his son Raja Govind Rao Gaikwad. The 'Idol' used to be taken out on a palanquin on festival days.[75] It seems that the British too allowed this practice to continue.

6. *Varshasans* were (1) originally religious or charitable pensions paid either from the Huzur treasury, in which case a Sanad was not required, (2) or by grants on the revenues of the Mahals, or any particular parts of them, which were generally confirmed by Sanad, (3) and were considered as descending from father to son, being usually continued by the Mamlatdars to the son or immediate heir of the late incumbent, on application to that effect.

For example, the sons of Bapu Shastri and Bal Shastri were illiterate, so their allowances were reduced from

Rs.300 to Rs.200; but it was enough for them to maintain themselves. Another example, Raghoba Acharya and Nursing Acharya had applied for their claim but it was rejected because his name was asserted in the Pension list for an annual allowances of Rs.600.[76]

The Peshwa used to keep aside certain amount of money which was to be spent on religious ceremonies. For the festival of Shivratree Baji Rao used to spend Rs.2400. But in 1818 the brahmins had demanded that Rs.2,900 should be granted to them. Elphinstone wrote to Robertson to allow them to have the sum. But it has been observed that the collectors though they obeyed Elphinstone, they did not approve of everything which Elphinstone asked them to do. Here for instance when the festival of Shivratree came again in 1819 he wrote to Elphinstone that during the days of Nana Fadnavis they were given Rs.2000 and he said that he was confident that this sum would satisfy them. So he requested Elphinstone to reduce the sum.[77]

7. Rojinadars were persons receiving a certain charitable donation, daily or yearly. These together with allowances to Pirs and Khairats (grants to Muslims for religious purposes) were for the most part originally granted by the Moghuls and continued by the Marathas. They seem to be considered nearly on the same footing with Varshasans and to be permitted to go on without much interference.

The same may also be said of Dharmadaws, which were charitable allowances to religious purposes and Balparveshi, which were generally pensions to the families of persons killed in the service of the state. Dharmadows and Balparveshi were usually granted on Sanad, as were sometimes also Dehangi (donation).

9. *A Nemnook* (assignment) was a fixed annual payment from any particular specified source whether in cash or in kind. Nemnuks were usually granted either on account of past or present services; or were fixed in lieu of or in part of some other allowances formerly enjoyed. Their terms and duration seem to have depended very much on circumstances such as were confirmed by Sanad, were usually held to be permanent, though it did appear that during the late Peshwa's Government they were frequently reduced.

According to Elphinstone's calculations the estimated grant at his disposal was Rs.18,34,510 of which about Rs.5,00,000 were for pensions of the Government under the heads of Nemnooks and Varshashans which could be resumed and they could not decide about it.

10. *Kitta* means miscellaneous pensions or allowances not coming exactly under any particular class. They were in some cases confirmed by Sanad and considered permanent.[78]

Rewards: The British acknowledged the services of certain natives who had helped them in establishing their Government in Maharashtra. So they were rewarded Inams by the British. Among them were Ballaji Pant Natu who had helped the British very sincerely in the 3rd Anglo-Maratha War. He was given the villages of Paith and Kurross in the Taref of Kohir as Inam for his services to them.[79]

Ballaji Bhagwan was given 532 bighas of ground valued at Rs.1¼ per bigha at the village of Mingaon, in lieu of the Watan rights which he had held at the town of Dhulia in Khandesh.[80]

The Phadke family was given a pension of Rs.3,600 per month in lieu of their Inams and Watan rights.[81]

However it has been observed that Elphinstone tried his best to give Inams in the same way as it was done in the days of Baji Rao but he always preferred to give pensions instead of Inam land. For he wanted to bring as much land it was possible under the control of the British Government for the sake of administrative conveniences. It has also been noticed that Elphinstone had a very sharp memory for remembering people and their names. Whenever a person's name appeared twice, he would immediately point out the mistake, like for instance when the name of Trimbak Pant (who was an adherent of British Government) came up, he at once remarked, "This is the same as No. 18, had been inserted by mistake the pension of Rs.300 has been granted to him and that of Rs.500 struck out."[82] Similarly when Naik of Sebundies came up he said, "He belongs to Captain Grant's Pension List."[83]

All the three lists - No. 2, No. 3 and No. 4 relating to Jagir, Pension, Inams and other grants respectively were sent to the Supreme Government on October 26, 1819 just a few days before he took up charge as Governor of Bombay. Being very particular on accuracy, he attached a note to his report saying that 'he feared that there might be some mistakes while classifying the names of the people, like a person might have been a minister and would have been put under the Sardar's list or any other list. So he had left a copy of the list with William Chaplin his successor to review it and prepare the final list.'[84] Fortunately, Chaplin's list is also available in the Rak Files, and it has been observed that Chaplin made no alteration in the classification only a few more names were added to each list.[85]

The Reaction of the Supreme Government

The Supreme Government, however, did not very much appreciate Elphinstone's method of settlement. Metcalf, the Secretary of the Supreme Government wrote to the Bombay Government that the alienations of Public Revenue, either in Jagirs, Pensions, or other Grants should have been limited as much as possible as to number, amount and duration. He pointed out that the Governor-General in Council did not wish to show any disrespect to the decision taken by Elphinstone; but further remarked that, "Elphinstone should have given more concessions to those who were important for the tranquility of the country or on other important grounds of political expediency and not on to those who were of not much importance to the Sate. The

Governor General expressed his displeasure over the decision taken on the sons of Balaji Kunjar to continue with the ancestorial property, it was pointed that the latter decision should not have been taken as 'Balaji Kunjar had, since long been employed to intrigue with Shinde against the British Government and he had continued with this behaviour till his dying day. Besides this his sons were rich, therefore it was not a very sensible idea of granting them a pension.'[86]

The Governor General was also not satisfied with the decision taken, over the case of 'Naroo Punt Aotee' the former Governor of Raigad, as he had broken the promise of capturing the fort for the British Government.[87]

However, the Governor General approved of Elphinstone's decision taken on those people who were allowed to retain their jagir or pension "for life" - for this gives the Government an opportunity to stop the grants or renew them according to circumstances. But he expressed great annoyance over the grants which were made "Hereditary" for, the Governor General said that by doing this, the Government would be precluded both from resuming its rights when it might be necessary to do so, and also that they might lose hold over them as they would have no obligation on the Government and besides this would also put them in a difficult position to make any improvement in Revenue or any other branch of civil administration in future if they wanted.

The Supreme Government had no objection to granting Rs.5,00,000 for religious purposes but the Government was much disappointed as they had expected greater "Resources" from the conquered territories as to the expediency of carrying into effect the proposed additional grant of Rs.2,00,000 for the support of the Hindu Religion.[88]

In short, it can be said that the Supreme Government did not ignore any point and every list was very carefully and critically examined and their arguments were clear and to the point.

Elphinstone's Reply to the Governor General's Remarks

Elphinstone expressed great dissatisfaction over the statements made by the Governor General and remarked that he had never taken an independent action without informing the British Government. He pointed out that in his despatch of 18th June 1818 to the Governor General he had already explained to him as to why he proposed to take such a liberal stand and it was only when he had received on 26th September 1818, the approval of the Governor General that he proceeded with his plan of settlement.[89] And he quoted a part of the despatch stating that "The proposal for allowing this class of persons (the Jagheerdars) and the other holders of lands for their personal expenses to retain the enjoyment of the last mentioned description of grants, is founded on the principles of wise and liberal policy, and has the perfect concurrence and sanction of the Governor

General in Council."[90] The irony of this despatch is that the Governor General went a step further by giving Elphinstone the liberty to make, "special arrangements and provisions as you may judge necessary in apportioning the grants, with a view to make distinctions according to individual desert, and to leave at the same time some fund to provide for persons similarly entitled to consideration, but who did not derive their support from grants of land."[91] Therefore it can be said that Elphinstone had reasons to express his disappointment and make his stand clear. All the same, the lists were once again carefully revised, as suggested by the Government. But it was found that it was impossible for him to make any considerable saving; besides this the grants had been already issued and individuals had been told that "they will enjoy them for life, and the Government was informed that "no grant of any description had been declared hereditary to the person concerned. This distinction 'Hereditary' and 'For life' was only made in the list of jagirs transmitted to the Supreme Government." But Elphinstone brought to the notice of the Government that although it had not been declared - yet he desired that the grants marked hereditary should be continued," to the heir of the present occupants."[92] But he approved of the Governor General's proposal in respect to the expendiency of renewing the grant on the death of each incumbent. The Government would indeed be at liberty to exercise its discretion in granting or with-holding the renewal on each occasion except in the case of what was termed Padshahee grants; which were to be made by the Raja of Satara.

Regarding the Governor-General comment on granting jagirs on unworthy persons, Elphinstone replied that it was already made clear to them that their lands could be resumed on grounds of demerits any time or on the death of the jagirdar. Regarding the political offences of Ballaji Kunjar, for example, they were not considered sufficient to exclude his sons from the benefit of the rule adopted. But he accepted the Governor General's decision on Narro Pant Lotee and said, 'the treachery had been clearly established since the report alluded to was transmitted and it had been decided that he had forfeited all claim to this provision.'[93]

Elphinstone gave an assurance to the Supreme Government that the religious grants would not exceed one half of the Rs. 2 lakhs estimated, of which sum at least fifty thousand Rupees was allotted to supply the place of an expenditure by the Peshwa of Rs.500,000 for the encouragement of learned brahmins, part of the remaining sum would be laid out on public education and the circulation of printed tracts. Besides that he even pointed out that the amount of the jagirs and pensions would be soon diminished by the death of the jagirdar as many of them were quite old, so after sometime there would be a considerable reduction in the total amount of allowances of this description.[94]

Though Elphinstone made efforts to pacify the government - yet from the correspondence between them, it appears that the Supreme Government was not quite willing to accept his proposal and kept writing to him 'to cut down the expenditure.' But Elphinstone took a firm stand and replied, "It is impossible to effect any considerable savings in the Jageers and Pensions which the Territories Conquered from the Peshwa is burdened."[95] He, however, gave an assurance to his Government that he would try to take advantage of every proper opportunity to reduce the expenses incurred.[96]

Thus it can be concluded that Elphinstone by and large, managed to have his way, though pressure was brought on him from higher authority, and besides that he was also bound by the previous promises made by his colleagues such as Munro and Malcolm, to the jagirdars. He had tried to carry them out to the best of his ability as has been noticed in the chapter - but all the same it has been observed that he only considered those cases which were just and reasonable, and at times they were modified, like for instance, when Robertson wrote that Bapu Gokhale's wife brought, "A Chucktee on you from Sir John Malcolm for the restoration of Jagheer of 12 lacks."[97] This proposal was not fully accepted by Elphinstone and he gave Gokhale's wife a very small pension and some jagir.

But the fact cannot be denied that Elphinstone took a just stand, while giving jagirs, pensions and grants, there might have however been a few exceptions but the documents available so far throw very little light on them. Even after the settlement was completed and if an appeal was made that his claim had been ignored or deprived - then the demand was immediately looked into; like for instance, Sham Rao (who was the son of Khanderao) was deprived of his pension due to "some inquiry", but when Elphinstone visited Pune in 1824 nearly five years after the settlement, the former appealed to him and explained his position. Elphinstone on being convinced of Sham Rao's claim, restored his right to 'Pension'.[98] Even in the case of Trimbakji Elphinstone did not take a very revengeful stand. He could have got him hanged or got him publicly butchered, just as Baji Rao had done to Vittoji Holkar the brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar. In fact everyone had expected that - but Elphinstone took the decision to give him "life imprisonment".[99] Similarly even in the case of Bapu Karekar who had plotted against Elphinstone's life before the war, was given a pension of Rs.600.[100]

Elphinstone paid a visit to the Deccan in 1823 to observe the effect of his settlement. Many jagirdars came to just visit him and some with complaints. Elphinstone promised to consider them and even managed to settle many of them immediately. Elphinstone's Report of 1823 reveals that 'the jagirdars looked happy and satisfied and the country was prospering'.[101]

NOTES

1. Colebrooke T.E. 'Life of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone,' Vol. II, London, 1884, pp.60-61.
2. Peshwa Daftar Poona : Deccan Commissioner's File Vol. 266. Grant to Elphinstone 17-9-1818.
3. Ibid.
4. D.C. File Vol. 458. Elphinstone to Governor General, 18-6-1818.
5. Balhatchet, K. Social Policy and Social Change in Western India. 1817-1830, Oxford, 1957. p.36.
6. Malcolm Sir J. The Government of India, London, 1833. Appendix p.157.
7. Stokes, E. The English Utilitarian and India Oxford, 1959. p.16.
8. Kaye, Sir J.W. Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe, London 1855. pp.151-152.
9. Bearce G.D. British Attitudes Towards India 1784-1858, Oxford, 1961. p.126.
10. Stokes, E. op.cit. p.19.
11. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. II. op.cit. p.83.
12. Elphinstone's Report and D.C. File Vol. 402. Elphinstone to Collectors, Poona, 10-7-1818.

    A brief account of the powers and functions of the Watandars are given because it will be discussed in the following chapter.
13. Munro Papers : MSS EUR F151.

14. Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No. CXIII - New Series, Memoirs of the States of Maratha Country by West E.W. Bombay, 1869, Munro to Elphinstone, 28-9-1818.

15. "Parag" Journal May 1948.

16. Poona Residency Correspondence Vol. XIII, Poona Affairs, Elphinstone's Embassy, Part II 1816-1818 Edited by Sardesai G.S. Bombay 1953, p.172.

17. P.R.C. XIII. pp.261-62. Translation of the letter addressed by Elphinstone to Southern Jagirdars.

18. Bombay Archive: Political Department Diary No. 303. 27-11-1817. p.2413.

19. Munro Papers: MSS EUR F151:40. Munro to Elphinstone. 21-1-1818.

20. Ibid, Munro to Elphinstone, 25-1-1818.
In this Box there are many letters relating to the war, state of affair prevailing in the Country, the complications involve in trying to bring about a settlement with the jagirdars. All of them are written by Munro to Elphinstone.

21. Grant Duff's Collections: MSS EUR 466. Munro to Elphinstone Camp at Sholapur. 15-3-1818.

22. Munro Paper: MSS EUR 151 File No. 29. Queries by Elphinstone on jagir, Peshwa's servants etc. Report to appendix No. 1.

23. MSS EUR F151: 40.
Munro to Elphinstone 25-1-1818.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. MSS EUR F151: 40. J. Adams To Elphinstone Gorukhpoor, 10-6-1818.

27. West, E.W. Memoir of Southern Jagirdars. Munro to Elphinstone, 4-3-1819. Ganpat Rao brought to the notice of Munro that if a treaty of peace would be concluded between the Peshwa and the Company; then the British should take the initiative of restoring to him the whole Saranjam of his (Ganpat Rao's grandfather) including what Shinde and others had from it and also the Saranjam with Nawbat and Nagara and Chuogara granted to his father after the battle of Kharda but his father had never enjoyed its benefits. So Ganpat Rao requested that all these Saranjam should be stipulated to him from the Peshwa. There upon Munro immediately replied that he could not give him any promise but assured him that his claims would be taken into consideration. And only on examination of his Sanad and only if it would prove to be correct would be given to him by the Peshwa. (West's Memoir's p. 8/11, Munro to Ganpat Rao 4-3-1819.)

28. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A.
Munro to Ganpatrao, Beejapore 13-6-1819.

29. Ibid - Translation of the Agreement made by Brigadier General Munro with Ganpat Row Patwardhan and of the

ultimate decisions on all the questions there in contained.

30. D.C. File. Vol. 405. No. 1535. Elphinstone to Chaplin.

31. West E.W. Memoir of Southern Jagirdars, p. C/XI Elphinstone to Metcalfe 18-5-1819.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid, Elphinstone to Metcalfe, 7-6-1819.

34. MSS EUR F88 Box III C. Munro to Elphinstone Camp at Nagpur, Annowlee. 23-4-1818.

35. Ibid.

36. Ballhatchet K., 'Social Policy And Social Change in Western India 1817-1830. Oxford 1957. p.66.

37. MSS EUR F88 Box 3A. Translation of a letter from Chintaman Row to Mr. Elphinstone Jamdoool Akhir. 25-4-1819.

38. Ballhatchet K. p.68. As Ballhatchet has dealt with this problem in great detail, therefore it has been discussed here briefly.

39. Ibid. p.65-66.

40. Munro Papers : MSS EUR 151 File No. 29. Elphinstone to Munro. 5-7-1818.

41. Munro Papers : MSS EUR 151 File No. 29. Elphinstone to Munro. 21-5-1818.

42. West, E.W. Memoir of Southern Jagirdars. Elphinstone to Munro. 28-6-1818.

43. D.C. File Vol. 458.

Elphinstone to Governor General. 18-6-1818.

44. MSS EUR F88 Box IIIC. Robertson to Elphinstone. 1-8-1818.
45. Munro Papers : MSS EUR F151. J. Adams to Elphinstone. Fort - William. 7-11-1818.
46. Ballhatchet K. op.cit. p.63.
47. Munro Papers : MSS EUR F151. J. Adams. Elphinstone Fort William 7-11-1818.
48. MSS EUR F88 Box 6A. Robertson to Elphinstone No date.
49. D.C. File Vol. 12. No. 615. Pottinger to Elphinstone.
50. Peshwa Dafter, Mak Files. English Rumal No. 33. File No. 7. Elphinstone to Metcalfe 25-10-1819.
51. Munro Papers: MSS EUR F151:29. Malcolm to Elphinstone. Camp Moswal. 5-6-1818.
52. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone. The Indian Years 1796-1827, Bombay, 1971. p.218.
53. Ibid.
54. MSS EUR F88 Box H. Grant to Elphinstone. 31-3-1819.
55. Ibid.
56. Mak Files, English Rumal No. 33. File No. 7. Elphinstone to Metcalfe 25-10-1819.
57. Ibid.
58. It seems that they were in possession of Padshree Jagir i.e. given by the King e.g. Maloji Gorepure, Jan Rao Naik Nimbalkar hold Padshree Jagir for 150 years and 100 years respectively.

59. Elphinstone's Report unpublished. Part. Kept in Hak Files English Rumal No. 33. File No. 7 - 1819. A copy of this part of the Report is also found in the D.C. File Vol. 463.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. D.C. File Vol. 458. Elphinstone to Collectors. 18-6-1818.

63. Inams were also given at Times to Wantanders and Jagirders, as a symbol of Status.

64. D.C. File Vol. 458. Elphinstone to Collectors. 18-6-1818.

65. D.C. File Vol. 403, No. 817. Elphinstone to Collectors, Poona. 7-10-1818.

66. Ibid.

67. D.C. File Vol. 405. No. 1465. Elphinstone to Collectors, Poona - 30-7-1819.

68. Ibid.

69. D.C. File Vol. 96. No. 528. Robertson to Chaplin.

70. Ibid.

71. D.C. File Vol. 96 No. 529. In D.C. File Vol. 91 there are many letters giving the names of the Brahmins and how much they were receiving from the new Government and how much they used to receive from Baji Rao.

72. D.C. File. Vol. 90 No. 83. Robertson to Elphinstone, Poona 8-8-1818.

73. D.C. File. Vol. 130 No. 371. Pottinger to Elphinstone, Nasik. 3-2-1819.

74. D.C. File Vol. 91 No. 155. Robertson to Elphinstone, Poona. 3-9-1818.

75. D.C. File Vol. 127 No. 209. Pottinger to Elphinstone, Ahmednagar. 27-9-1818.

76. D.C. File. Vol. 93 No. 276. Robertson to Elphinstone, Poona. 19-3-1819.

77. Ibid.

78. Elphinstone's Report.

79. D.C. File. Vol. II. No. 452. Newnham to Elphinstone. 16-11-1818.

80. D.C. File. Vol. 133. No. 652.

81. D.C. File, Vol. 15. No. 841. Warden to Chaplin. 24-12-1819.

82. Elphinstone Report (unpublished part) Hak Files. English Rumal No. 33. File No. 7 - 1819.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid.

85. Hak Files. English Rumal No. 33. File No. 7. Elphinstone to Metcalf. 26-10-1819.

86. Political Dept. Diary No. 484. Metcalf to Elphinstone. 4-3-1820.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. D.C. File. Vol. 458. Elphinstone to G.G. 18-6-1818. and Poona Residency Correspondence. Vol. XIII. p.

Adam to Elphinstone. 26-9-1818.

90. P.R.C. XIII p. Adam to Elphinstone. 26-9-1818.

91. Ibid.

92. Political Deptt. Diary. No. 484. Warden (Elphinstone's Secretary) to Governor General. 11-5-1820.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Dak Files. English Rumal No. 33. File No. 7. Elphinstone to Metcalf. 17-6-1820.

96. Ibid.

97. MSS EUR F88 Box III C. Robertson to Elphinstone, Poona. 2-9-1818.

98. MSS EUR F128 Box 7. No.26. Elphinstone to Strachey. Candalla. 7-11-1824.

99. Briggs Letters: Vol. I. MSS EUR F88 Box 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone, Saughier. 5-7-1818.

100. MSS EUR F88 Box H. Grant list of Pension.

101. MSS EUR F88 Box 15C. Minute on the Deccan. 14-1-1823.

APPENDIX NO. I.

Munro Papers: MSS EUR 151 File No. 29. 19th May 1818.

Queries by Mountstuart Elphinstone on Jageers,
Peishwas Servants.

Question I:

The whole Revenue of the Peishwah's country may be a crore and fifty lakhs, of which half is paid to the Treasury and half allotted in Jageers. Are we to leave the whole of this Jageer Establishment for which we have not the smallest use and which is in many respects unsuitable to the Nature of our Government? For a long time, the Jageerdars have never kept up a third of their contingent and that only when called out to serve. Even on emergencies they never kept up half the Peishwah was entitled to call out 19 or 20,000 Jageerdars Horse and in the last war I do not suppose he had more than 7 or 8,000. If we allow the same system to go on the revenue is wasted in maintaining a few individuals in luxury and does not go as intended to pay the soldiery of the country. If we force the Jageerdars to keep up a large portion of their contingent we make them our enemies and at the same time put arms into their hands we might have the personal Jageers of all who come in late that is all except the Putwarduns and Appa Dessye sequestrate the lands allotted to maintain horse and maintain the horse ourselves. This would affect about 25 persons and could make a difference at 20 lakhs of Rupees in our expenditure leaving them about 10 lakhs to subsist on. There would still be about 35 lakhs allotted in Jageer besides Giklas which would be resumed. The amount of these sums is however somewhat exaggerated Jageers being always rated according to the Kamal Berij from which they have in most cases declined. Now it is a question whether we ought for the sake of 15 or 20 lakhs to resume any Jageers except those of persons who have given us ground of offence.

Question II:

Another question is whether to give back the whole or part of (the personal jageer for instance) of various Jageers resumed by Bajee Row, a measure which made him very unpopular.

Question III:

Another question is how to manage about employing the soldiery of the country except the Arabs find employment as Sebundies and what is to be done with the cavalry. I conjecture the real military men of the Paishwah's country to be about 10,000 or 12,000 of these the Paishwah used to maintain about 5000 and the Jageerdars the rest. During the late war the Paishwah got together about 25000 horse partly those above alluded to, partly foreigners and a very great part men who had acquired settled habits in long peace but were called out again by the Paishwah's high pay.

These have all come back here and striving on jaded horses, incapable of any exertion. I do not think they will stir again till after the rains and I wish that during the internal they should remain unemployed and suffer hardships. This will drive the foreigners to their homes and the villagers to their ploughs. About the Bassers I would open a levy for the rest at low pay sufficient to maintain a horseman but not enough to keep him to this trade if he could find another. This is in this part of the country would be about 30 Rupees a month but even this for 5,000 - would be 1,50,000 a month besides the pay of chiefs. That is about 20 lakhs a year in addition to our present - whose pay is enormous what then ought to be the amount of our levy.

Question IV:

Another question relates to the ministers and dependents of the Peishwah's government some of whom had personal Jageers, some salaries, some farms of the revenue, some pensions some perquisites ought all these to be maintained or is a host of malcontents to be turned loose! Who of them can be employed from the bad habits of the old Government. This leads to another question.

Question V:

Ought we to employ the revenue officers who are abominably corrupt, or get in people from our own country or train up Natives of this for revenue servants? In considering how to provide for the servants of the old Government. We have difficulties never before experienced to content with. The case most like of ours is that of Mysore, but the Raja's Government provided for many and Tipoo's frugal and parsimonious Government made it easy to satisfy his ministers. He had no Jageerdars and there was then a vent for the horse who were discharged from his service. These questions required immediate decision for on the one hand the Jageerdars to have nothing to live on, and on the other, if we once release their lands or grant their allowances we shall never have a pretence for resuming them. A great deal turns on the means we possess, to explain which I enclose a paper I drew out long ago to send it in a private form to Calcutta. It leaves only 35,00,000 Rupees for our Civil Military expenses without allowing for the horse to be provided for.

Question VI:

When we do leave Jageers are we to allow one Jageerdar to collect Mokassa another Baubtee another Sahotra as fourth Sirdeshmookhee and a fifth zakaut, in a village belonging to Government? Such a system must be ruinous to the Ryots?

Question VII:

What jurisdiction is to be maintained in Jageer lands? If the Jageerdar is independent of the regular police will he not make a trade of harbouring thieves? In these questions I except the Patwardhuns, Appa Dessye etc. who are rather dependent states than subjects and who must be governed according to our treaties with them.

Question VIII:

Ought I to proclaim all Balances of revenue upto the new year, which is at hand excused, and if so, ought money collected by Mamlutdars to be excused also?

Question IX:

Do you think it politic to allow Paishwah's Chiefs and dependents to live without restraint or security relying on our good treatment for their good behaviour etc. Would you have any acknowledgement of all?

Question X:

It is a question of trifling importance comparatively but there is much clamour about it. Would you allow a Nerik i.e. a maximum to be fixed for the price of articles sold to our camps orwould you let every thing find its level though it might sometimes fall hard on the heels.

CHAPTER VI

REVENUE SETTLEMENT 1818-1827.

The acquisition of political power in Maharashtra confronted Mountstuart Elphinstone with the key problem of reorganising the rural economy in the interest of the British social and political objectives. The problem of reorganising the rural economy was not a theoretical or doctrinal one. It was a practical issue the solution of which involved many consequences.

Elphinstone had to formulate a policy that would serve the purpose of both his Government and the people of Maharashtra. Collection of land revenue was the heart of the revenue administration. Elphinstone was confronted with the problem of formulating a proper method of collection of land revenue. It was through the land revenue that a government in medieval India could reach to the rural social life of the people.

There existed two types of revenue settlements in India one was the Permanent - Settlement of revenue which was introduced by Cornwallis in Bengal, and the other was the Ryotwari Settlement of revenue - in which the settlement was done directly with the individual ryot; this system was followed by Munro in Madras. But Elphinstone, however, did not want to follow either of them in Maharashtra. He rejected the Permanent settlement totally for he claimed that he did not want to leave the ryots at the mercy of the zamindars. In his letter to his friend Strachey he explained why it was difficult to introduce the Bengal System in Maharashtra and said this was due to the fact that, "The great object was to prevent arbitrary increase of assessment and how to do this in new countries where the resources are not known, is the difficulty, even in very old one's it is still difficult because surveys get obsolete and assessments founded on them if adhered to become exceedingly unequal. You have very little to boast of in Bengal on this trend."[1] He further criticises it by saying, "You fixed the assessment on the Zamindar and made all the world ring with your liberality and wisdom, but will you declare that the zamindar's assessment on the ryot was to be regulated by custom and you left it to the courts of justice to ascertain what the custom was leaving millions of Ryots liable to ejectment and ruin with the remedy of obtaining damages provided they could prove in court that the Zamindar had demanded more than was authorised by custom."[2]

Though he was a great admirer of Munro and his policies, yet he did not approve of his method of revenue settlement, which was much appreciated by the people. Commenting on Munro's Ryotwari Settlement he said "I am not democratic enough to insist on a ryotwar system. I think that the aristocracy of the country whether it consists of heads of villages or heads of zamindarees, should be kept up; but I also think their rights and the opposite rights of the ryots should be clearly defined and the latter especially effectually defended. On both of these points Lord Cornwallis has certainly failed."[3] But Elphinstone desired to follow a system where neither were the proprietors of zeminders to be created nor was the revenue demand to be fixed for ever. It was proposed to conduct an accurate survey to ascertain the produce of the land and to ascertain and record the rights of the agricultural classes. While the revenue could be collected by the village headmen or Patil. - In short, Elphinstone wanted to follow the Maujewar[4] settlement which would satisfy both the zaminders and the ryots. However, this was not a novel idea; it was already in existance in North India and it had been also followed by the Marathas during the best days of the Peshwa rule. Since Elphinstone did not believe in 'innovations', he tried to revive the old revenue system of the Marathas, after doing away with the anomalies, which had crept into it, under Baji Rao II the last Peshwa.[5]

The purpose of the study is first to give an account of the general settlement of the entire territory and then to take it district wise to show how each individual collector handled the situation.

Land administration followed during the days of the Marathas

During the Maratha period all land in Maharashtra and other parts of the Deccan was regarded as the property of the rulers of the state, who exercised the right of supreme ownership by collecting land rent in the form of land revenue. While the rulers exercised the right of supreme ownership, the cultivated lands and the adjoining waste land, forest and meadow land were held by the village community.

The Maratha System of land revenue had its roots in the system adopted by Malik Ambar in the early years of the 17th century. The methods of measurement, assessment and settlement which he had initiated were more or less the same which Shivaji followed in his newly set up Maratha Kingdom. The system of Shivaji continued till the last decade of the 18th century. In order to understand the Maratha system one has to know certain technical terms used for tenures, assessment and measurements, found in the Marathi records. Different types of tenures prevailing in Maharashtra were, Watan, Inam, Saranjam, Miras etc. Watan tenure - was essentially a service tenure. Rent free land was assigned to an individual by the State in lieu of his services to the State. The village officials like the Deshmukh, the Patil, the Deshpande, the Kulkarni, the Chougule etc. received watans for their services. Inam tenure was a grant of land for the services already rendered by an individual to the State. Religious grants also came under this tenure. Saranjam tenure was essentially a military tenure and the land granted to an individual by the State was enjoyed by him till he performed actual military service. Mirasdars were the peasant proprietors who paid the normal rent to the State for the ownership rights of lands that they enjoyed.

The methods of settlement prevailing in Maharashtra in the 18th century were mainly four. Tanakha i.e. oldest settlement by which a certain standard rent-roll is fixed. Kamal settlement was the maximum revenue expected from a village during normal times. Moujewar settlement means the fixation of revenue village wise and Koolwar settlement means the fixation of revenue proprietorwise.

The assessment of the revenue was done according to the quality of land: (1) Utam - first rate, (2) Madhyam - middle rate, (3) Kanishta - poor land.

Method of measurement

The land was measured with the help of measuring rods called kathis. It was divided into chavars and Bighas. 120 Bighas made a chavar. 400 Sq. Kathis made a bigha. A bigha was equal to 1/2 acre or 25,000 sq. fit. yards.

Collection of revenue:

The mamlatdars played the most prominent role in the collection of revenue. They were selected from families of integrity. The office was conferred on persons of trust without any agreement to the amount of revenue to be drawn from the districts; and to avoid injury to the Government and the ryot, only people of experience were chosen to fill this office of trust. These persons at the time of their nomination, sometimes, though not always, paid in advance to the treasury a portion of the revenue.[6]

Having received the sanad, the mamlatdar assembled the patils of the villages. An account of the collection of each "mouza", in the hand-writing of the Kulkarni, with the mark or signature of the Patil, was drawn up. The custom and all other items were included in the receipts and expenses. From Tanakha or Kamal the value of inams, saranjams villages, or shares of villages, etc. were deducted, and the balance constituted the Ain Jama or ordinary receipts, as distinguished from the Savaye Jama or the extra revenue.

Under the supervision of the mamlatdar, the heads of villages were allowed to exercise considerable latitude and discretion in raising or reducing the revenue, or the terms under which they had been persuaded to cultivate. In case of necessity, the mamlatdars assisted the ryots by allowing balances of rent to remain outstanding as Tagai (or an advance of money) to enable them to purchase seed or cattle, taking from them a promissory note for the amount. In short, it can be said that no means of conciliating the ryot to cultivate were discouraged.

The rents were not entirely payable in cash. They were remitted by the village to the mamlatdars by 'hawalla' (security) or orders on the Sowkars. The ryots in like manner, often paid the Patil by similar assignments. "The latter mode was most prevalent, so much so that it is estimated that scarcely 25 per cent of the revenue was paid directly in money."[7] It was this, as we have previously seen, that made a great difference in the condition of the ryot, when, with falling prices, they had to pay their instalments to Government in cash and also the Sowkar's interest. When the ryots paid in cash, they gave the local coin of the district. If any arrears remained due, the extortion of which would cause the ryot distress and hindrance to cultivation, a respite was allowed till the period of the first 'kist' (instalment) of the following season; but if the balance could not then be realised, it was excused and written off as a remission.[8] Any other extraordinary failure or destruction of crops always met with indulgence.[9]

It was a strange fact in the land management of this koolwar, or individual settlement, that no pattas or receipts of payment were given to the ryots. There was an understanding subsisting between the ryot and the Kulkarni which led them to dispense with this security. However, the credit for this mutual goodwill should go to the Maratha village system, which continued to function satisfactorily upto the end of 18th century.

The intervening period (1800-1818) was one of the unhappiest in Maratha History. Not only did it bring about a rapid downfall of the Peshwa, who not only became a victim of circumstances but half the fault was of his own making especially his policy of revenue administration which caused much destruction to the ryots who formed the bulk of the population. The Savaye Jama or the Jasti Pattis i.e. extra revenue, added an extra burden to the already pressurised ryots. In addition to this was the farming system[10], which though not entirely a new innovation, aggravated the already existing evils.

Evils of the Farming System

In this system revenue collection was assigned to the highest bidder.[11] The office of the mamlatdar, for instance, was no longer conferred on administrators of experience and probity, as seen previously, was put to auction among the courtiers and the favourities of the Peshwa, who were expected to bid high for the office, and sometimes disgraced if they showed a reluctance to enter on this sort of speculation. Greater portion of the revenue was collected by the officers of Baji Rao II such as Sadashiv Mankeshwar, Bapu Gokhale, Parashuram Khanderao, Vinchurkar, Ramchandra Chowdhary, etc.[12] They performed their duties with utmost severity, for instance Sadashiv Mankeshwar extorted from the district of Pangree near Ahmednagar of which he was in charge for nine years the enormous sum of Rs.14,50,000. While as the records show the highest annual revenue which he paid into the Government treasury never exceeded Rs.70,000.[13] The revenue fell very rapidly since Baji Rao came into the office. For instance Kushaba of Wai in Sangamner yielded a revenue above Rs.18,000 at Baji Rao's accession to the masnad, whereas its total yield in the year 1817-1818 did not exceed Rs.2,000.[14]

The mamlatdars appointed during the days of Baji Rao had neither the time nor the inclination to inquire into the resources of the districts which fell under their charge. They were also indifferent to the prosperity of the Kunbis. They often let out a district at an enhanced rate to the farmers of revenue, who in their turn repeated the operation, until it reached the Patil in the village. A mamlatdar who had purchased the rights of collection of revenue for a district became the absolute master over it for the term of his lease, and the kunbis under his control could not lodge complaints against him through the deshmukhs. If the Patil of a village was conscious of his duty as the leader of peasantry and the protector of their interests, often he refused to pay an exhorbitant sum levied, - but rarely such a thing happened. Every individual from the mamlatdar to the Patil was interested only in the amount of revenue that could be squeezed out of the ryot, irrespective of the actual state of the cultivation. It was the individual's means of payment, not the land he occupied which was the scale on which he was assessed. No moderation was shown and every means and pretext were employed to extort the utmost out of the ryot before the day when the mamlatdar would relinquish his charge.[15] This system thus led to the crumbling of the economy to its lowest ebb, when Elphinstone took over the charge of settlement.

Re-organisation of Revenue Machinery by Elphinstone

The country which was under the Maratha administration had been in charge of many Mamlatdars and Kamavisdars was now placed under five principal officers, such as the collectors of Khandesh, Pune, Ahmednagar and the Karnatak and the political Agent at Satara. The main feature of this District administration in Maharashtra was similar to those found elsewhere in British India. Each collectorate of District comprised eight to twelve talukas and each taluka consisted of 100 to 200 villages. The village officers were the Patil, the Kulkarni or Talati, the Mahar or the watchman. Each Taluka or subdivision yielding revenue from Rs.50,000 to Rs.75,000 was placed in charge of a Mamlatdar. Above the Mamlatdar was the Deputy Collector and above the Deputy Collector and in charge of the entire district, was the District Collector and Magistrate.[16]

In the administration of land revenue Elphinstone tried to revive the Maratha system as it existed before Baji Rao II. He abolished the farming system as it was against his sense of rational agrarian policy. He instructed the Collectors to continue to collect the land revenue as had been the Maratha custom through the Patil. Until they establish a particular standard - for fulfilling this purpose, he also asked them side by side to continue collecting the revenue records of the past 10 years.[17]

They were further instructed '(1) to levy tax as far as possible, according to the area of land actually under cultivation, (2) the assessments were to be light, more uniform, (3) to impose no new taxes, (4) to abolish none unless they were positively harmful, and (4) above all they were to introduce no innovations.'[18] The ryots had suffered firstly because of the war and secondly because of the bad revenue system. Therefore, Elphinstone felt that it was the duty of the collectors to encourage the ryots to carry on the cultivation and to give them all help. He further added that the ryots should be encouraged to bring the waste lands under cultivation. Remission was to be given with great caution and granted only on actual loss. A penalty bond was to be secured stating that he would have to pay back double the amount if found that it was obtained on false pretences.[19]

Elphinstone had issued out instructions to his collectors regarding the powers and the functions of the Mamlatdars,[20] and their salaries were fixed by the Government, their main duty was to supervise the work and to report to their respective Collectors the working of administration. The collectors in their turn issued instructions to the Mamlatdars,[21] based on Elphinstone's instructions. Pottinger, however, translated these instructions into Marathi for the Mamlatdars under his charge.[22] John Briggs, the collector of Khandesh, reiterated the spirit of Elphinstone's circular when he issued instructions to the Mamlatdars under his charge.

He instructed the Mamlatdars that the main function of the revenue officials under the new regime was to preserve the socio-economic system of the villages.

Difficulties faced by the Collectors

The Collectors, as previously stated were required to settle the land revenue of a village in negotiations with the Patil and then divide the tax among the individual cultivators, 'giving each a deed or patta,' in which were stated his obligations to the State. It was a difficult task no doubt for the collectors as the revenue division was based upon (i) total holdings (ii) land under actual cultivation (iii) quality of the land. And they could do this only after they had fixed the amount that would be required of individual cultivators and even this they had to ascertain from the cultivators, if they were satisfied with the arrangements.[23]

The Collectors had great difficulty in finding a uniform standard of survey measurement. They complained that many of the Kulkarnis were ignorant while many purposely withheld the real accounts. Many of the accounts made available were either false or incorrect. This was chiefly due to the ignorance of the earlier revenue farmers (or officials) and this ignorance enabled the villages to evade heavy exactions, which otherwise would have befallen them. The village officials had greater facilities for doing so in some parts of the country.[24] Pottinger, the

Collector of Ahmednagar for example, was soon complaining of his difficulties 'in getting true accounts', and added that there was not even 'one remote symptom, of an upright administration'. Besides this there was not a single Karkoon or Mamlatdar against whom there were not less than at least a hundred complaints.[25] Grant in Satara was satisfied neither with the accounts nor with the men who kept them. "The Kulkarnees in this part of the country really do not possess correct accounts they are by no means intelligent."[26] He wrote to Elphinstone that the accounts kept even by the Jagirdars such as the Pratinidhi and Gokhale were found to be incorrect. When the accounts of the village were called forth a complete false set was produced or an excuse was given that they were lost in consequence of the sudden death of an old Kulkarni who had burnt them unknown to any person living or that they were burnt accidently or destroyed by Fateh Singh Mama (Maternal uncle of Pratap Singha) and other plunderers. Some Kulkarnis had brought forward the real accounts of their villages in bundles of old papers which they could neither examine nor understand. Grant said that at times some accounts had been produced by threat and some had come forward with what were believed to be tolerably correct documents in consequence of their supposing that there was previous information; but none had given in their accounts willingly.[27] Briggs the Collector of Khandesh had a similar complaint, he wrote to Elphinstone, "Never was anything like the confusion in the records many have been burnt or plundered and the land revenue of a great portion of Candeish has been collected for many years according to custom without reference to the number of Begas in each village. Instead of land being measured, they speak of a Yoke of land as in ancient times as much as a pair of oxen will plough in a day and I have hardly any hopes of getting ten years successive amounts from half of the country."[28]

While Robertson on the other hand complained to Elphinstone about the embezzlement of revenue by the Kulkarni and Deshpandes in many places for example in one village the Kulkarni had taken Rs.500 and in others from Rs.100 to Rs.400. This money was actually collected from the ryots. When they were caught red-handed they offered to repay the sum. But Pottinger did not blindly accept what was told to him - regarding this matter, too he decided that he must understand exactly, how they must have extracted money from the ryots. So he decided to examine the records one by one of each ryot in every village for instance in a village of the Jamkhed district the Patil had exercised great cruelties by putting stones on the ryots heads and breast and tying them to stakes in the sun to force them to pay their dues - yet he attempted to defraud the Government out of Rs.500 1/3 of the village revenues. Pottinger informed Elphinstone that he had ordered his Patilki to be confiscated "for a time at least."[29] Pottinger also informed Elphinstone that at one time when he was going through the records, he found the behaviour of the revenue officers so inco-operative that he 'had Daishmookhs, Daishpandies, Potails and Koolkurnees from all parts of the country in confinement and when they saw they could not carry their roguery through and confessed it, there were always others ready to take their places.'[30] Again Briggs found that 'they not only withheld their own papers, but urged the village officers to conceal theirs.'[31] Such records as they did produce were often found to be false, because they themselves were either corrupt or incompetent.[32]

Chaplin had come to the conclusion that the accountants could produce any figures if they wanted to, "The Koolkurnees occasionally exhibited accounts of ten, twenty, thirty, or even fifty years standing when it suits their particular interests or purposes to do so." But he also found that, "those who can show no ancient records, are never at a loss to furnish either a fabricated set, or to give a traditional account of the old rates."[33]

The Collectors had to manage as best as they could in spite of the paucity and inaccuracy of the village records.

Demand for efficient revenue officers

The Collectors requested Elphinstone to supply them with right type of revenue officers, as without their assistance, it would be difficult for them to set up an efficient and good administrative office and to collect information regarding the revenue collection in their respective collectorate.

In reply to this request Elphinstone wrote to his collectors that it was difficult to get the right type of revenue officers as many of them were reluctant to join, and many of them had yet some hopes of the return of Baji Rao's and his government. Another reason was that they had suddenly occupied the whole country which, "had unavoidably excluded almost all revenue servants of the Poona State from our employment and has generally filled their places with men of little or no experience, and in some cases of no respectability,"[34] besides that a great number of revenue servants were foreigners i.e. natives of His Highness the Nizam's country or persons from their provinces who had followed their camps in different situation. But Elphinstone brought to their notice that they must do justice to natives. "All future recruitment was to be done from persons formerly employed under the Peshwa's great Mamlatdars and gradually increase the number as their confidence in the inhabitants; and their authority was fully established,"[35] wrote Elphinstone. ~~Elphinstone~~. Elphinstone further informed them that the formation of 'new districts', would however give some immediate openings and many vacancies would be created by a rule in itself indispensable to the introduction of a strict system which would invariably give a chance of dismissing every Kamavisdar who would be proved guilty of embezzlement, extortion or oppression and also everyone who would appear incapable of performing the duty assigned to him.[36]

But all the same the demand of the collectors was taken into consideration and Elphinstone tried to solve the problem to the best of his ability. He prepared a list of persons employed under the former government and of those who were now qualified to serve under the British Government. This list was sent to the collectors and they were given the liberty to employ anyone of them, they wished to. But the collectors had to inform him when they selected some one. Besides that they had to send to him a list of Kamavisdars and Shirastedars employed in their respective collectorate.[37]

Elphinstone consulted this problem of appointing revenue officials with Munro his friend and adviser, who had already started a 'Native Board of Revenue' at Madras. Elphinstone was very fascinated by this plan and wrote to Munro to send him the details. He had come to the conclusion that besides the necessity of having good native advisers in governing natives it was equally necessary that "we should pave way for the introduction of the natives to some share in the Government of their own country. It may be half a century, before we are obliged to do so.... open vents for their ambition and ability..."[38]

Munro agreed with this view but he suggested to Elphinstone that for the time being it would be more profitable to them to employ some outside men as, 'the Poona servants', he wrote, 'are the most deficient, I have met with in any part of India.'[39] Elphinstone followed Munro's advice and asked him to send some Madras trained revenue servants. Among those who were sent were William Chaplin, Hanumant Rao, who had been division shirestedar in the ceded Districts and Lakshman Rao who had for many years served Munro in revenue work. These men were sent to assist the Collector, in their revenue work, Hanumant Rao was first sent by Elphinstone to help Grant at Satara, but later on he was sent to Ahmednagar to assist Pottinger who was facing a number of difficulties. Lakshman Rao was sent to Khandesh to help Briggs as he had to deal with a number of Bhil chiefs, who were always creating trouble in Khandesh.[40]

Elphinstone's plan was to have one Madras official and one Maratha official each holding a parallel post of Daftardar or Division Shirastedar under every Collector. This he felt would help in introducing more efficiency and in reducing the corruption. Besides this it would even help the collectors to have a check upon each other.[41] Keeping this purpose in view he wrote to Chaplin that 'each Madras man should bring with him a few dependents, and even offered to pay them Rs.400 a month.' The idea was to appoint each one of them, to the 'Collectors Treasury' either as treasurer or deputy treasurer. They would be asked to keep a seperate accounts book, so as to serve as a check upon his Maratha superior or subordinate. Elphinstone called this 'the Ceded Districts' plan of having a Double Dufter.'[42] Thus it can be said that Elphinstone paved the way, for the entrance of Madras people in the administration of Government in Maharashtra.

Besides the employment of Madras servants, some Marathas such as Appaji Krishna Rao, Balaji Pant Natu etc., who had previously served the Maratha Government were also employed in the civil service. Some of the military men who had helped in the initial occupation of the new territories were also appointed to civil posts, like Mir Fazl Ali Khan, Ram Rao etc. But it has been observed that all of them were not efficient men and some of them had to be dismissed later by Elphinstone, for example Ram Rao, whom Munro called 'my old Lieutenant'.[43] Elphinstone as previously stated, gave permission to his Collectors to make fresh appointments whenever the need arose, but he was anxious to employ the officials of the former government, whenever possible in order to minimize the social changes involved in the transfer of power.[44]

The Collectors at Work

Pune was the first district to come in possession of the British after the battle of Khadki, and it was put in charge of Henry Dundas Robertson as previously stated. It covered an area of 5,350 sq. miles, and the number of subdivisions were Junnar, Khed, Maval, Haveli, Sirur, Purandhar, Bhimthadi and Indapur.[45] The climate is invigorating and better adapted for Europeans than many other countries in India.

The population of Pune wrote Robertson was not less than 1,40,000. There were about 5000 families who lived without trade or profession "unless those who were Brahmins may be said to have a profession, then there were about 1000 vagabonds, Marathas, Mangs, Ramoossee etc. who commit petty thefts and lived in brothels and probably about a 1000 Pardeshies (including Arabs) and Marathas who were without a permanent employment. But the greater part of the population, consisted of Kunbi or cultivators; they were poor and badly dressed; they eat animal food and drank spirituous liquors."[46]

Ahmednagar Collectorate lay west of Pune and Henry Pottinger was put in charge of it. It covered an area of 6,666 sq. miles and had a population of about 8,00,000 (which consisted of Brahmins - 84,000, Kunbis - 8,60,000, Muselmans - 25,000, Professionals - 1,55,000, Others 60,000, Mangs - 9,000, Bhils 4,500, Ramosses 3,000 and Koli 10,000). The Collectorate was divided into 23 Kamavisdarship. But certain Pargannas had been transferred in 1819 to it by the political agent of Khandesh; they were the pargannas of Chandore, Wani, Dhindoree, Umber, Patoda, Ellore and the tarafs of Sewoor and Dhondulgaon. There were in total 2498 villages under the charge of Pottinger."[47]

The Satara Collectorate lay to the north of Pune, covering an area of 4,792 square miles, with a density of population averaging 221 to the square mile. It consisted of eleven subdivisions - Wai, Javali, Satara, Koregaon, Phaltan, Karad, Valva, Man, Khatav, Khanapur and Tasgaon. The people spoke Marathi. This district as previously stated was placed under Captain James Grant who had to hand it over to the Raja of Satara,[48] after settling that territory.

The Collectorate of Khandesh was situated more towards the north; covering a total area of 10,431 square miles. This collectorate was the last one to come into the British possession. It consisted of 16 sub-divisions, they were Trimbak, Vani, Chandoor, Byzapoor, Muhegon, Yewlah, Ramsej, Kopergaum, Lassulgaum, etc. Captain John Briggs was appointed collector.[49] The country was, in the most miserable condition. The depredations of the Pindaries, the losses caused by its having been frequently the seat of war between the contending. Maratha powers, Holkar, Shinde and the Peshwa whose ruinous farming system only caused destruction to the country.

In the midst of all the prevailing confusion the collectors laboured hard to the best of their abilities to meet and surmount the many obstacles that stood in their way.

Pune

Robertson the collector of Pune informed Elphinstone that he had proposed to assign portions of the country to the commander of Troops i.e. to the officers in charge of forts, just as it was done during the days of the Peshwa to collect revenue. Therefore before putting this into practice once again, he wrote he was trying to collect as much information as was possible independent of the Kulkarnis and the Patils. He deputed intelligent Karkoons in every direction to inspect the cultivation of the villages to obtain a register of the cultivators and above all to give the people confidence and stimulate the Patils to bring into cultivation as much land as possible by every means at their command. Robertson instructed them that they should see that the Patils did not allow cultivators to desert their old lands in order to plough fields laying fallow, for the sale of Istava (progressive scale of rent) which they would be ready to do. But he warned his Karkoons not to impose fine more than Rs.1. Besides this they also had to find out how much was sown and what was the capability of the soil. It has been observed that many fields in the collectorate had not been ploughed as the cattle had been carried off by the armies during the war.[50] Very often when the land was sown by the farmers their fields were traversed by the cattle. During the time of Baji Rao II nothing was done to check it. Robertson realised

P.T.O

Abstract of The Settlement of The Land Revenue of The Poona Collectorship for The Fussli Year: 1227 (1818)

Amount of Jumma to be payable by the Ryots	Realized by the former Govt. officers	Deductions		Total	Balance payable to the Govt.	Deduct outstanding balance remitted	Amount actually realized
		Mokassa	Remissions by the Collector				
2,72,676	1,54,322	5,831	53,908	214,062	58,614	11,617	46,997

Abstract of Sivae Jumma Settled For Received & Outstanding By The Provisional Collector of Poona

Amount realized	Outstanding	Total
2,69,681	19,042	2,88,723

Abstract Of The Receipt Of Revenue Of The Provisional Collector of Poona For The Fussli Year: 1227 (1818)

Jumma	46,997
Siva Jumma	28,872
Total Rs.	75,869

Robertson

the difficulty of the farmers and made it a rule that if the owners of cattle did not look after their cattle then their cattle would be seized and would not be returned, until the owner paid him a fine of Re.1 for each animal and the expense of feeding it for the time - it might have been detailed at a rate of 1/2 a Rupee a day. And if any resistance was made in paying the fine the District karkun had the authority to enforce it and send the owner as a prisoner to Pune.[51]

Robertson informed Elphinstone that one of his Karkoon had succeeded in detecting a false account submitted by the Kulkarni. The record submitted showed Rs.2,75,000 as collection of revenue, while in reality according to the extent of cultivation in 1817 it ought to have yielded Rs.3,25,000 - which clearly exhibitted the shortage of Rs.50,000. The strange thing was that both the Kulkarni and the Patil accepted the fact, that they had committed a fraud. Robertson did not punish them, as they had confessed their crime, for he acknowledged the fact that it was difficult for the people to change overnight.'[52]

Revenue Collection in 1818

Robertson submitted to the Government his first account of Revenue collection of the year 1818. The chart on the opposite page gives the details of the collection. Robertson explained that Rs.2,72,676 as shown in the chart was to be collected from the ryot - out of which Rs.1,54,322 had been already collected by the former government officers before the country came under his charge. The remission granted on the remainder amounted to nearly half of it i.e. 53,908 as seen in column four. The amount that came to Government was Rs.58,614 from which an amount of Rs.11,617 was deducted as outstanding balance. Therefore the amount actually collected was Rs.46,997.

Besides collecting the Ain Jama (regular revenue) Robertson had also collected the Savaye Jamma (extra revenue). This Savaye Jama was collected from gardens, fruits, trees, grass lands, the jakat of the Nakas of the Mahals; but the town customs or taxes were not included in it. The total collection as seen in the chart was Rs.2,69,681. Regarding the outstanding balance of Rs.19,042 of the previous year 1817 - he said it would be collected in due course. Therefore total collection from the Savaya Jama was Rs.2,88,723.

Thus the total collection that came into the Government's treasury from Ain Jama and Savaye Jama was Rs.75,869 as shown in the chart.[53]

Ahmednagar

Pottinger the collector of Ahmednagar complained to Elphinstone that it was difficult for him to make a settlement because of lack of information and the depressing conditions of the ryots. He wrote to Elphinstone that when he visited the Pargana of Nasik he found the accounts in the most extreme state of confusion few of the Kulkarnis did not even known how much of the land in their villages was under cultivation - no investigation had taken place regarding the rates of different rents - since the last several years. They just had a rough idea of how much their villages had to pay and deficiency was made to overcome by "Sadilwaree Puttee" (miscellaneous taxes) or extra revenue. This Peti amounted in the year fasli 1226 (1816) a sum of Rs.21,000 and was a most grievous burden on the Ryots. As it was, in the first place, it was laid on each village without any reference to the means of paying it and in the next, it was collected at the pleasure of the Patil or Shaikar who favoured some and created trouble for others.[54]

Similarly Pottinger informed that in several villages the condition was so bad that the ryots were not in a position even to pay 1/3 and in others little more than 1/4 of the kamal or complete revenue. Hence Pottinger wrote that he had asked the district and village officers to come and adjust their accounts for fasli year 1227 (1817-1818). Pottinger said that he had instructed them to inquire particularly into the state of their District and gave them Cowl or assurance in writing for the period, and in return took security for the fulfilment of their part of the agreements - This system was followed in two small districts of Nigoze and Ganjay Bhoora (Ganji Bhoyre). The former district consisted of 15 villages in all and the latter of 14 villages but of those 11 villages were granted in Jagir to Shinde, therefore only 18 villages were included in the Istava of both.

Pottinger informed that he wished to follow the same method in other districts also. The increase of revenue to Government would be rapid as the great burden of the Istawa fell on the ryots from the 2nd and 5th year and another peculiar advantage which Pottinger felt would remove any possibility of extortion on the part of the native revenue officers.[55]

Hence Cowl and Istawa were granted according to the quality and quantity of the land by the Kamavisdar or Subedar. The ryot was the owner of the land till the period he held the Cowl. Sometimes he was allowed to continue his cultivation if he wished to do so.

Pottinger informed Elphinstone that in villages where land was lying waste, he had issued a proclamation which empowered the Kamavisdars of certain districts to grant Istava Cowls to all the persons who were willing to cultivate in them and that a reasonable advance of money (Tagai) was to be given.[56]

The Proclamation stated that all the people in the Ahmednagar were free to receive Cowls and Istava by making an application to the Kamavisdars of their respective Talukas. Istava was granted for 5 years according to the following terms:

The 1st year free of rent.

The 2nd year	1/4 was to be paid.
The 3rd year	1/2 was to be paid.
The 4th year	3/4 was to be paid.
The 5th year	full rent.

Exceptions were to be made to the last one i.e. 5th year and 2 years more was to be added if there was a jungle or other cause for expense. The successive years on which the same rent would be received were the 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 6th year.[57]

The rent of the ground per Bigaha would be fixed by the Kamavisdar assisted by the Deshmukhs and Deshpande and the Patils of the neighbouring villages. The wood of all jungles were to be cut down; those who did the job of cutting got the land. Pottinger in his letter to Elphinstone gives a detail account of the working of Istava.[58]

In Ahmednagar the settlement was made with the ryot either by the Collector himself or by his mamlatdars, in conjunction with the Patils, the hereditary district officers, the Deshmukhs, the Deshpandes etc.[59]

Revenue settlement

The Collectorate of Ahmednagar consisted of 2926 villages - of which 180½ belonged to Shinde - 20 to Holkar - 12 to the Nizam and 215½ were assigned as Inam to various persons and charities. These deductions left a total of 2498 villages in the hands of the Kamavisdars under Pottinger. Tankha or fixed revenue of the whole of the above villages was Rs.35,44,898-15-3 and of those that remained under the British Government was Rs.28,34,938-15-1. Pottinger reported that it was difficult for him to estimate the Kamal which the Marathas paid in the best days of their administration. Though it is believed that at one time it had exceeded half a crore of Rupees. Pottinger pointed out that parganas were rated so high that kamal had probably never exceeded it (or would never exceed) yet in other, the latter was nearly double and several districts, even then paid more than their tankha.[60]

The gross Jammabandi revenue settlement of the fasli year 1225 (1815-1816) for the village which came under the possession of the Company was Rs.19,22,288-14-12. That of the fasli year 1226 (1816-17) was Rs.18,96,514.0.2 and that of the fasli year 1228 (1818-1819) had been fixed at Rs.18,67,830-0-2.

The intervening year of 1817-18 being that of war the accounts of it were thrown into such inextensiveable confusion that Pottinger kept the year 1818 as a blank year in his defters.[61] But all the same Pottinger had sent to Elphinstone a statement of the collections by the Kamavisdars and officers of the late Government in the fasli year 1227 (1817-1818) and also an Abstract showing those which exceeded Rs.5,000.[62]

Satara

Grant too like Robertson and Pottinger faced the same difficulties while making the revenue settlement, and complained of incorrect revenue accounts and the malpractices committed by the various revenue officers. For instance Grant wrote to Elphinstone that when he visited the Koregaon taluka in order to make some inquiry and also for settling some parts of jemmabandy; on examining the accounts, he was surprised to find that the Jemma of Chicklee was stated at Rs.1,399.2.0 in place of Rs.2,027.10.0 and of that of Sindoorganna at Rs.871.0.0 in place of Rs.1,095.12.0. He said that he had given the Patils and the Kulkarnis one complete day to bring papers which could explain the observable difference or they could sequester their inheritance. He even issued a proclamation to all hereditary officers to come forward with all the authentic information on and documents in their possession. A period of 30 days was given to those who had failed to give correct information and if they did not do so then their inheritance was likely to be sequestered. This declaration frightened some of the officers so much that the very next day the Patils and the Kulkarnis of Keni came to visit Grant and surrendered their unjust dues - they had embezzled 65 bighas of the very best land of the village.[63]

Grant brought to the notice of Elphinstone that the Kulkarni at one time had behaved extremely badly in giving his accounts to the mamlatdar. When he was asked why he did so he replied that he was forced to do it by the

Deshpande. So he had asked both of them to come to Satara immediately.[64]

Grant also pointed out that out of an enormous sum of Rs.2,000, Rs.500 of the land revenue was concealed by the Kulkarni of the village of Jamb which Grant said he could never have discovered had the patil not informed him about it and the Kulkarni had admitted the fact. It seems that the Patil was expecting some reward for this service. For the next morning, he told Grant that he was a poor man and asked for Rs.100 to buy a pair of bullocks. Grant promised to give him monetary assistance and a pagadi (head dress, a sign of honour).[65]

Grant informed Elphinstone that Bhoose was the only village, where accounts were produced in a very satisfactory manner and the settlement was done within a few hours.[66]

Revenue Collection in 1818

The chart on the opposite page gives an idea of how the revenue was collected by Grant in 1818. Grant as seen in the chart divided his collectorate into 7 divisions - i.e. Wai, Javali, Karad, Khatav, Phaltan, Nataputa and Taraf Satara. The total number of villages in these 7 divisions was 1,216. The revenue in each of these division was collected under the various heads as indicated in the chart. Thus the collection from Jama was Rs.12,40,981.6.6, Enams Rs.1,61,415.15.0, Jagis 67,703.12.4, Devasthan

Rs.28,135.12.5, Warshasan Rs.12,993.10.3 and Mahl Kharch Rs.17,570. From total, Rs.2,87,819.5.5 was deducted for certain expenditure; thus giving a total collection of Rs.12,40,981.6.6 - 2,87,819.5.5 = 9,53,162.1.1).[67]

Khandesh

Briggs had a particularly difficult task. Khandesh was a wild and desolate district, infertile and inhospitable and it supported a thin population of which the untameable Bhil tribes formed a significant proportion. Therefore Briggs in Khandesh had to undertake a double task: one was making a settlement with the Bhil leaders and the second was collection of revenue.

Regarding the Bhil problem Elphinstone had suggested to Briggs that the Bhils should be driven into the Hills.[68] Briggs agreed with Elphinstone but however, he pointed out that this plan was not an adviseable one, as this would encourage them to resort to plunder. Besides that they had served as watchmen of the village and protected the cultivators. Briggs realised that this form of protection was essential for the cultivators.[69] Briggs worked out a plan to bring about a settlement with the Bhils. He explained his plan in the following words, "The Bheel putty I proposed would have the effect of feeding all the Bheels of the Hills and plains. The Naiks receiving 1/2 Rupee on each town of their District monthly and their Deputies 1/2 Rupees also on each town within their range."[70]

SATARA COLLECTORATE

A Rough Estimate of the Jamma Bundee and Deduction of the undermentioned Divisions - Particulars and nearly ascertained have been entirely omitted (1818).

	Division	Number of villages in each	Jumma	Enams	Jaheers & resumed	Devasthan	Wurshasan	Mahl Khurch Office Establish	Total deduction	Total of each	Grand Total
1	Waee Soobeh B (Wai)	258	353280. 7.1	69569. 3.3	41830.15.1	11250.12.1	1811. 8.0	-	127462. 7.1	225818. 0.0	
2	Jowlee Soobeh C (Javali)	340	84468.10.0	12552. 7.2	1753. 6.0	6567. 4.1	333. 8.0	5487	26693. 9.3	57775. 0.1	
3	Praunt Kurar D (Karad)	372	455187. 5.0	-	-	2778. 0.0	3625. 4.0	12083.	18486. 4.0	436701. 1.0	
4	Kuttao Des - E (Khatav)	169	201673.14.0	54002. 2.2	19894. 6.3	3650.15.0	4088. 6.3	-	81635.15.0	120037.15.0	
5	Fultun Des - F (Phaltan)	-	50000. 0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	50000. 0.0	
6	Natapoota - G (Nataputa)	32	25658.14.2	603. 4.2	-	1252. 4.0	60. 0.0	-	1915. 8.2	23743. 6.0	
7	Turuf Satara H (Turaf Satara)	45	70712. 8.3	24689. 0.3	4225. 1.0	2636. 2.0	75. 0.0	-	31625.13.3	39086.11.0	
		1216	1240981. 6.6	16145.15.0	67703.12.4	28135. 5.12	12993.10.3	17570	287819. 5.5	953162.11.0	
											953162.1.1

(a) Mamlitdarship not included

(b) Hoozrat & Gaon Khurch not included.

Total Balance - Nine Lacks, fifty three thousand, one hundred and sixty two Rupees, one anna and one pice 953162.1.1

Satara, 12th July 1818.

James Grant

Political Agents.

This plan was acceptable to Elphinstone.[71] But, however, he later revised this plan and instead of the customary dues they had to pay in kind i.e. grain, which would be deducted from the public revenue demand upon the village. The Supreme Government also agreed.[72]

Briggs informed Elphinstone that settling the revenue was another difficult problem as the revenue accounts of the villages of Khandesh were in a state of complete disarray and even brought to his notice that the land under his collectorate had not undergone any measurement, "within the memory of any person in Candeish."[73] Elphinstone realising Briggs difficulties sent him an abstract showing how revenue was collected in fasli year 1226 (1815-1816) and instructed that this pattern should be followed. The abstract given on the ~~opposite~~ next page gives us an idea of it. It shows that revenue was collected under five heads such as Land Revenue, Customs, Mohterfa, Abkaree (Excise) and Extra Revenue, denoted as A, B, C, D and E. respectively, and each one of them were further sub-divided as seen in the chart, and it also specifies the amount collected under each division and sub-division. It is not essential to give a detail account of the various collection as the chart itself is self-explainatory.[74]

Collection of Revenue

Briggs reported that while he was examining the records, he discovered that the Kulkarnies accounts exhibited

A REVENUE

Land Revenue of the Province of Khandesh for the year 1226 (1815-1816)

Name of District	Jageer	Serdesh-muki	Mokassa	Babiti	Sahotra	Nuzzur (Nazar)	Neemchoute (Nemnuk)	Kussur (Kasar)	Total
Melligaum	66,660.12	11,110	15,660.11	5,550.9	1,000				1,00,000
Gaulna	3,86,304	9,090	11,590	15,450	2,310	13,630	3,860	5,400	99,960

B CUSTOMS

Name of District	Town duty at 1/2 Re. the cart load	Frontier duty of 2 annas the bullock load	Joon Duty at 5% on the value	Frontier Duty at 3% on the value	Total
Melligaum	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	20,000
Gaulna	10,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	30,000

C MAHTAFA

Name of District	Shop keepers	Gold smiths	Weavers	Cotton Cleaners	Total
Melligaum	2,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	5,000
Gaulna	3,500	1,500	2,500	500	8,000

Name of District	Licenced Shops for the sale of spirit	Duty on Stills	Rent of Date Trees	Rent of Palmeira or Coconut Trees	Total
Melligaum	4,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	10,000
Gaulna	3,000	1,000	2,000	1,000	7,000

E Extra Revenue

Name of the District	Tennis from Public servants Pandes for neglect of Duty	Amt. realized from the Sale of Strays	Concealed Cultivator	Treasure found and unclaimed property	Total
Melligaum	100	400	2,000	500	3,000
Gaulna	200	200	500	100	1,000

Note: In this account ought to be specified under their proper heads all the exaction of the Maratha Government and all the prequisites of its offices.

Account particular of the Revenue of the Province of Khandesh for the Arabic Year 1216.

Name of the District	Land Revenue A	Customs B	Mehturfa C	Abkarree D	Extra Revenue E	Total
Melligaum	1,00,000	20,000	5,000	10,000	3,000	1,38,000
Gaulna	99,960	30,000	8,000	7,000	1,000	1,45,960

a sum denominated Ain Jamma (regular revenue) and another called Sadhnook Pati (A levy for accomplishing or effecting something) which made the total assessment and as it was noticed that this latter item amounted to 25% to 30% more than the Ain Jamma, (i.e. if the Ain was Rs.100. Sadhnook Pati was Rs.125 or Rs.130); this naturally exhibited the extreme policy of oppression. Briggs pointed out that on examining the details of the Kulkarni papers it was noticed that both these sums together did not form a very heavy assessment on each bigha of cultivated land and if they were to be considered as correct the fact would be important. But he claimed that on examining the papers he was convinced that they could not rely on the accounts.[75] In order to get some standard of assessment, Briggs employed surveyors, Karkoons and inspectors to measure every bigha of cultivated land and report on the crops. After getting some idea of assessment he said - he tried to get Dardam (rates) papers exhibiting price and all the particulars of a thing to be bought. The Zamindars pretended that it was permanent but later it was discovered that little reliance could be placed on those documents.[76]

Briggs reported that seeing the attitude of the zamindars, he decided to make the Jumabandi personally but found it very difficult because of the numerous artifices and frauds made use of by the Zamindars who threatened to baffle the investigation. But all the same Briggs said he was determined to make the Jamabandi at Dhulia and

Kopergaon of Khandesh.

Briggs began with the Jamabandi at Kopergaon with the District of Enroola (Erandol). He got the land measured first, then he found out what was the average paid for each bigha of land. Briggs decided to make the assessment but he found it difficult, because the Kulkarnis exhibited a large portion of the land in each village as rated at an under assessment called "Heen Kowly" (temporary Kowl). Upon further investigation he discovered that it was altogether a false entry. Later he came to know that the same land was annually cultivated and by the same persons as appeared on examining the village papers. Though it seemed that the assessment was fixed at the average rate of assessment per bigha, both for Bagait and Jirayat and the revenue was paid for a number of years under the best administration. This became the model for all the rest of the Jamabandi and from the accompanying specimen of Jamabandi Patrak. The Pahwy (non-resident) karkoons gave him an account of the particular cultivation of each field.[77]

Briggs informed Elphinstone that once the assessment was settled he gave the Patils of his collectorate with his own hands their deed of agreement and in return they gave him a deed of assent on their part. It was made clear that no body would demand from them beyond the sum stated in their deed but they were bound to exhibit at the end of the year the sums they had collected from each individual of the village to make up the whole amount.

Briggs next visited Dhulia and found that the obstacles here were much greater than those in Gungturry. The land in Dhulia had been measured but by different standards many of which were marked on the door posts of the principal temples of the villages. When Briggs inquired about the accounts most of the Zemindars declared that they would abide by any assessment but they could produce no papers.[78]

The zamindars of Galna had acted very obstinate; Briggs, therefore, threatened to resume their Watans. With great difficulty he managed to procure by degree the accounts of the 10 years and subsequently those of a very remote period from each village. He made it clear that the Heen Kowly assessment would not be admitted, so they tried to reduce the value of the land by exhibiting it as if it was due to bad soil in the villages. This shallow artifice was easily refuted, when it was pointed out that the nature of the soil was the principle object in the first establishments of each village. Briggs was shrewder than them, and at once argued out that 'when so much lay waste then why ~~should~~ had the ~~worst~~ head ~~had~~ been cultivated.' Much time was wasted in this. When Kowl Patta was given to each Patil, Briggs inquired if the principles were just or not, and he gave them the authority to attend to complain on the spot as far as it was practicable.[79]

Briggs instructed his Patils to give remission only when it was necessary like, for instance, in cases where the cattle had been carried away by Bhils, then the remission, was to be half of the value. Then the allowances were to be made only for the repairs of gates of towns of wells from which drinking water was procured. But he rejected the urgent and pressing request for some allowances either to repair town walls long in ruins or to raise the new ones. Due allowances was made in every instance where the march of troops had destroyed and the field where the crops had failed.[80]

Regarding granting of Cowl and Istawa, Briggs wrote to Elphinstone that he had not given Istawa to anyone because of the depopulated condition of the country and the baneful effect of revenue contracts. But he had given permission to Mamlatdars to give Cowl to individual ryots to cultivate new lands on the terms usual under the old government. Like Pottinger he too had given total remission for the first year to allow the husbandman to cut down the wood and to clear the ground. Then a successive increase of one, two, three and four quarters till the full proportion of the ground rent was to be paid on the 5th year.[81] Later on Briggs realised that it was impossible to achieve it within five years, hence later he appealed to Elphinstone to give one year exemption to lands which were of complete waste and Cowl were to be given for 7 years at a quit rent of Rs.4 annually. It would take the cultivator at least three years to prepare the ground before he could grow any crop.[82]

Briggs informed Elphinstone that during the days of the Peshwas, Hawaldars were appointed to see that the ryots did not sell their grain, till they had made arrangements for paying the Sarkar's Jamabandi. Briggs pointed out that a portion of the Hawaldarry was to be collected in kind according to the quantity of each grain grown in the Mahals and a sum of Rs.13,094 had already been spent by them, and in 1819 it would amount to Rs.15,000. This system according to Briggs was disadvantageous to both the ryots and Government because the ryots could sell their grain and the Government had to pay them unnecessarily. So Briggs took the decision to abolish it in Khandesh.[83] It appears that Elphinstone approved of his decision.

On examining the records of Gaonkharch or Sadir Patti, Briggs discovered that it amounted to a very considerable sum frequently 20 to 25% as the whole collections. It has been observed that under this head the Patils had collected a great deal more even they accounted for it in their Books and that they were very indiscrete in their expences. Briggs, therefore made an allowance of 4% on the gross revenue to defray the village expenses an account of which would be furnished at the end of the year and the balance repaid to the Government. So that the ryot could be in a position to purchase the essential things within a Rupee and they also would be relieved from a heavy load of oppression.[84]

Briggs brought to the notice of Elphinstone that the state of affairs in Khandesh had improved to some extent and the revenue collected by them proved it; for instance, 'during the days of Baji Rao II, districts were farmed out to the highest bidder and which must have been reimbursed to the contractors.' But Briggs claimed that the actual sum was never collected. The Kulkarnis accounts in the Districts showed that Shiur had been farmed out for 5 years at Rs.18,000, but the district never yielded more than 16,202 and at an average of only Rs.13,830. The village of Kapuswurgaum in the same district was under rented at Rs.800 to a favourite and the village records only account for that sum annually whereas now that they (British) had taken over this year i.e. 1819 the assessment had been made from the actual measurement of the land and it produced an annual income of Rs.2,007. Dyegaon another village in the same district was rented at Rs.900 and in the year 1819 it produced Rs.2,473.8[85]. Briggs also asserted that he was convinced that every Patil in Khandesh was satisfied with the fairness of the settlement made in 1819.[86] On an average, taken of the first 10 years of land assessments, it was found that in 1818 it fell short of Rs.49,355 and in 1819 it exceeded this average by Rs.1,23,281.[87]

Collection of Custom Duties

Though the major source of income was derived from the land revenue, there also prevailed various types of custom duties which contributed considerably to the revenue of the State. They were :

(1) Zakat or Customs - This was a transit duty levied by bullock load; but the rate varied in proportion to the value of the article; the highest was Rs.8. It was levied separately in every district, so that property was frequently liable to be stopped and searched. To remedy this inconvenience, there was a class called Hundekaris in towns, who undertook for a single payment to pass articles through the whole country. These men arranged with the farmers of the customs, and were answerable to them for the sums due. In addition to the transit duty, there was a tax of 12 per cent on the sale of animals included in the Zakat.

(2) The Government lands were another source of revenue not included in the villages. They were divided into Sheri (cultivated fields), Kurans (grass lands), Bag (gardens); and Ambrai (orchards).

(3) The Sheep pastures.— This was a tax paid by the Khillerries, or wandering shepherds, for the right to feed their flocks on all waste lands, from the Tapi to the Tungbhedra.

(4) Ranwa - A fee paid for leave to cut wood in the forests belonging to Government.

(5) Kotvali - This may be called town duties; it comprised besides the taxes included in Savaya Jamma, a variety of other imposts, among which the most considerable was a tax of 17 per cent on the sale of houses.

(6) Tanksal - The mint.

(7) Watan Zabti - Produce of lands belonging to Zamindars, sequestrated by Government.

(8) Nazar + Fines, or fees paid on succession to property. If a son succeeded his father he was not liable to this payment, unless he were a Jagirdar, or other servant of Government. But in cases of adoption that is, in almost all cases except where a son succeeded it was exacted from all persons.

The above eight articles mentioned were always, or almost always, farmed; the rest were not. The Zakat, before the cession of Pune, produced about Rs.500,000 the sheep-pastures about Rs.25,000, the mint at Pune yielded Rs.10,000; the others were confounded with the general receipts of the districts where they were situated. The Watan Zabti yielded Rs.50,000. While the amount of the Nazars was too fluctuating to be guessed at.

The Kotwali in Nana Fadnavis' time yielded Rs.50,000 of which a great part was produced by money extorted from persons guilty or suspected of adultery. Baji Rao, much to his honour, abolished this pretext for extortion, but his lenity was far from being approved by the better part of his subjects. The other articles were trifling. Abkarri, which was very important to the British, did not yield above Rs.10,000. The use of spirituous liquors was forbidden at Pune and discouraged everywhere else. The effect of this system on the sobriety of the people was very conspicuous.[88]

A Review of the first Revenue Collection

Therefore, taking a short review of the collection of revenue between 1818-1819, it can be said that all the collectors abolished Jasti - Pattis (or arbitrary taxes having no reference to the land or trade), and all regulated the Sadir Warrid Pati (Miscellaneous) doing away exactions on that account, more than were necessary for the village expenses. While Briggs went a step further and even abolished Sadir Warrid Pati altogether and defrayed the village expenses from the Government revenue, limiting the amount to 4 per cent on the gross Jama as seen earlier. The expediency of this arrangement wrote Elphinstone himself, 'is, however, doubtful, both as to the close restriction of the expense and the laying it on Government'. But it has been observed that all the collectors paid great attention to the circumstances of the Ryots, and made their assessment studiously light. There were, however, some points of difference in their proceedings. Mr. Chaplin and Captain Grant contented themselves with ascertaining the extent of the land under cultivation, by the information of neighbours, and of rival village officers, aided by the observation of their own servants. Captain Pottinger and Robertson had the lands of some villages measured, but only in cases where they suspected frauds; and Captain Briggs began by a measurement of the whole cultivation either of Gangtary alone, or of both that and Khandesh. All the collectors kept up the principle of the Ryotwari settlement, and some carried it to a greater extent than had been usual with the Marathas. Mr. Chaplin and Pottinger, after settling with the Patil for the whole village settled with each Ryot and gave a Patta for his field. Grant and Robertson, settled with the Patil and gave him a Patta, but first ascertained the amount assessed on each ryot, and inquired if he was satisfied with it; and Briggs, though he settled for each field, did it all with the Patil, taking an engagement from him to explain at the end of the year how much he had levied on each ryot.[89]

Regarding the collection of custom duties, the policy followed by the Marathas i.e. farming of customs, continued for the time being. As the collectors were fully occupied with the land revenue collection and other problems; that they did not find enough time for preparing a tariff, and of superintending the introduction of a new system.[90]

On receiving the reports from all the collectors, Elphinstone prepared a final report ~~at~~ on the 'Territories Conquered From The Peshwa', giving an account of the total collection of the Revenue, which was submitted to the Supreme Government.

Elphinstone's Account of Revenue Collection

Elphinstone in his report to the Governor General explained how the settlement was brought about. The first thing he did was to send for the principal persons who were

No. 13.

Statement of the Peshwe's Revenue in Fusaly 1225 A.D. 1816.

	District	Government Revenue				Serinjames				Other Alienation				Total			
		Kamal		Actual receipt into Treasury		Kamal		Actual receipt Estimated		Kamal		Actual receipt Estimated		Kamal		Actual receipts	
1	Poona	453315		402442	8	160625	5½	125728	6	213340	8	177497	11½	829307	13½	705668	9½
2	Ahmednagar	2304838	8½	1347172	4	876228	9½	488507	15½	843008	5	478318	14	4024075	7	2313991	1½
3	Khandesh	2486640	6½	683663	"	1209449	9½	576473	13½	120691	14½	55308	2½	3816784	14½	1315445	½
4	Carnatic	2700953	6½	1229005	"	2367498	2	1108142	13½	764317	½	484124	4½	5832768	9½	2821272	2
5	Satara	1460497	8	1004739	2	707902	15½	481048	10½	371885	9½	287180	7½	2540286	1½	1772968	4
6	Southern Konkan	1405444	8½	1239271	"	17749	12	18873	8	180555	7½	180555	7½	1603749	3½	1438699	15½
7	Nemar	11246	"	"		21705	"	7980		30149		18000	"	63100	12	25980	"
8	Colper	"	"	"		362713		500000		10000		90000	"	372713	"	510000	
9	Hyderabad Country	2342901	12½	506272		664000	11½	400000		224862	5½	92166	"	3231824	14	998438	8
10	Dhoolghant Melghaut	400000	"	20000		"		"		"		"		400000	"	20000	"
11	Northern Konkan	1553848	2	1351421		12500	3	12500	3	101485	12	101480	12	1667834	1	1465406	15
12	Gujerat	2961222	9½	1309220		37525		37525	"	57523	6½	57523	6½	3056271		1404268	6½
13	Cessionein Carnatic	1102032	13½	571202		90199	12	69910		42231	9	37440	14½	1234464	2½	678552	14½
14	Hindustan	4510878	10½	50000		2557901		846000		45358	4	21800	"	7114137	14½	917800	
15	Patwardans	"		"		2000000		1500000		152785	13	120000	"	2152785	13	1620000	
16	Nepaunkur	"	"	"		1100000		700000						1100000	"	700000	
17	Babti or Extra Collection from Mamlatdars to keep up his Pagodas	"	"													500000	
18	Add 20% as charges Collections	"	"	2042881	9											2042881	9
		23695822	6½	12257289	7	12166086	4½	6872690	7	3178194	15½	2121401	7½	39040103	10½	21251381	5½
										Deduct Alienations -				3178194	15½	2121401	7½
										7							
						Remains applicable to the purpose of Government -								35861908	11	19129979	14

* * * * *

Dependencies of the Peshwe's included within his territory

1	Baloo Maan	75000	75000			75000	75000
2	Angria					3000	3000
3	Pant Sachiv					375000	250000
4	Ramdoorghur					80000	80000
5	Nurgoondkur					80000	80000
6	Killoorkur			16001	16001	516001	516001
7	Gujendragus & Soondoor Pallee					50000	25000
	Total	75000	75000	16001	16001	1179001	1029001

previously employed by the Peshwa in his Defter, as it was felt that they were the right people to be employed to collect the Records. Later on he employed Mc.Dowell for the job who was assisted by Lt.Mc.Leod of the Bombay Engineers, who was well versed in the Marathi language. Secondly he asked his collectors to collect 10 years records from each village. We have seen the infinite difficulties faced by the collectors while trying to do this job. Elphinstone further states that 'though little reliance was to be placed in them, but the papers they procured were of great importance for the mutual check between them and the Defter Records.'[91]

Elphinstone brought to the notice of the Supreme Government that the available records help them in getting an idea of how the revenue collection was done by the Marathas. The chart given on the opposite page shows the total territory possessed by the Peshwa prior to the signing of the Treaty of Pune i.e. 1816.

The income of the Government in 1816, as shown in the chart was divided under three major heads : Government Revenue, Saranjams, and Alienations. Under each the Kamal and actual receipts are also shown. This was for the entire territory under the Peshwa in 1816. However, in this present study we are concerned mainly with those areas which were conquered from the Peshwa in 1817-1818. These areas were Pune, Ahmednagar, Khandesh and Satara in which Elphinstone started his work of settlement.

P.T.O.

NO. 14.

Revenue from our Possession gained by the conquest in 1818-19 including Holkar's Cessions

	Districts	From Govt. Possessions				From Siranjams				Total			
		Kamal		Actual Settlement of 1818-19		Kamal		Actual Settlement of 1818-19		Kamal		Actual Settlement of 1818-19	
1	Poona	455315		574024	6½	136307	3¾	86849	5	591622	3¾	660873	11½
2	Satara	1460497	8	1358110		586314	14	287029		2046812	6	1645139	"
3	Ahmednagar	2304838	8¼	2727678	1½	884316	14	54508	9	3188975	6¼	1782186	10½
4	Khandesh	2486643	6¼	1799587		2755231	13¼	469835	13¾	5241875	3½	2269422	13¾
5	Karnatic	2700953	6¾	2200140	7½	2088033	2¼	689239		4788986	9½	2889379	7½
6	Southern Konkan	1405444	8¾	1361620	6¾	16263	15	17342	12	1421708	7¾	1378963	2¾
7	Aolpur (Kolhapur)	"				362713		534436	2¼	362713	"	534436	2¼
		10813692	6	9021160	10¼	6829000	14¾	2139241	6	17642693	4¾	11160401	¼

As the chart No. 13 itself is self explainatory and it shows clearly the collection done by each district under the three different heads mentioned above, the details of its collection are not discussed. The Kamal and actual receipts shown in the chart against alienation are finally deducted from the total collection. It seems that all lands shown against "alienation" were watans and imans which were rent free, as seen in the earlier chapter. Therefore, the Government had to forgo the amount of revenue due from these tenures, Saranjam tenure was essentially a military tenure, and the Alienated land falls under the category of service tenure. It belonged to those who were rendered some civil service to the Government. Therefore total collection that came into the Government treasury was only Rs.1,91,29,979.14 as seen in the chart.[92]

It seems from the second part of Chart 13, that the Peshwa had seven dependencies, who contributed revenue to the Peshwa either as Saranjamdars or as Inamdars. For instance in this chart Babu Mian (Wai) was a Saranjamdar and the Kitturkars held some land perhaps under inam tenures. These dependents of the Peshwa must be paying a fixed amount annually. We, therefore, find very little variations in the Kamal and the actual receipts from the dependencies.[93]

The next chart No. 14 explains the revenue that came in the possession of the British by the conquest in 1818-1819, including Holkar's Cessions. When the settlement was

P. T. O.

No. 15.

Comparative Statement of the Revenue derived from the Conquered Territories by the ancient Government during the best times (Kamal) by the Peshwa in 1225 and by the British Government in 1228 Fussly - Holkar's Cessions are adoted and British Estimate made of their value in 1225.

	District	Kamal		1225 or 1816		1228 or 1819		
1	Poona	5,91,622	3¾	5,91,209	3	5,26,761	15	These are the sums actually collected upto the 31st July the actual settlement exceed this amount by 6 lakhs of Rupees the whole of which will in all probability be realised.
2	Satara	20,46,812	6	16,00,493	14½	11,97,377	15¼	
3	Carnatic	47,88,986	9½	24,13,837	1¾	19,27,496	2¼	
4	Ahmednagar	31,88,975	6¼	22,80,789	6	16,39,898	2¼	
5	Khandesh	52,41,875	3½	14,37,436	5¼	17,00,520	10½	
6	Southern Konkan	14,21,708	7¼	15,04,467	12	13,78,963	2½	
7	Aolpur (Kolhapur)	3,62,713		5,00,000		5,34,436	2	
	Total	1,76,42,693	4¾	1,03,28,233	11	89,05,454	2¼	

made in 1818-1819, we find an increase in the actual settlement in some districts as against the Kamal settlement made by the previous government. If we compare the chart No. 13 and No. 14, we can notice the difference in the increase. This increase may be due to an addition of new lands or it may be also due to the consideration of lands which were ignored by the previous government. In the case of Satara, Khandesh, Karnatak and South Konkan we find a decrease in the actual settlement. This may be due to readjustment of territories as a result of settlement of boundaries.[94]

As regards the steep fall in the actual settlement of the Saranjams of Pune, Satara, Ahmednagar, Khandesh and Karnatak, it can be said that these territories were conquered by the British in 1817-1818, and as the British did not require the military services of all the Saranjamdars, they have curtailed the Saranjams in these conquered territories. As regards Southern Konkan and Kolhapur, the settlement was done before 1817, and it seems that Elphinstone did not disturb the earlier arrangement.[95]

The next chart No. 15 gives us an idea at one glance, a comparative statement of the revenue collected by the Peshwa's Government in 1816 and by the British Government in 1819. The chart shows that the British could not reach the figure either of the best times or of the year 1816, is quite obvious. They had just conquered those territories; they were new to the area and its administration; the

No. 16

Statement of the Revenue as it will stand in 1820.

	District	Expected Govt. Collections		Expected Collections from Resumed Seranjams		Total	
1	Poona	5,70,303	13	31,453	13½	5,01,757	10½
2	Ahmednegar	18,09,287	6	4,40,711	14¼	22,49,999	4¼
3	Khandesh	6,12,003	2¼	6,18,376	12	12,30,379	14¼
4	Karnatic	10,47,818	14¼	9,40,620		19,88,438	14¼
5	Southern Konkan	13,61,620	4	3,867	12	13,65,488	
6	Aolpur (Kolhapur)			5,34,436		5,34,436	
7	Nemare	8,000		6,480		14,480	
	Total	53,09,033	7½	25,75,946	3¾	78,84,979	11¼

political situation was unstable, and to add to it the year 1819 was a famine year.[96]

But all the same Elphinstone did not lose hopes, and felt that things would improve in the coming years. In Chart No. 16 he gives an idea of how much they had expected to collect in 1820 after the cession of Satara to Raja Pratap Sinha and after the restoration of personal jagirs to the jagirdars and to other officials. Elphinstone also gives reasons as to why he had included Southern Konkan and Kolhapur in the statement. He says, "though under the Government of Bombay they were part of the recent conquests besides this, the expenses occasioned by the destruction of their Government are met by the arrangements here as much as the expenses of the same nature belonging to the other provinces."[97]

Thus Elphinstone's Report gives us a systematic account of the collection of revenue right from the year 1816 up to the end of 1819, while relinquishing his office as Commissioner and assuming the new office as Governor of Bombay Presidency from 1st November 1819. Along with this new appointment, the Territories conquered from the Peshwa were also annexed to the Bombay Presidency.[98]

Further progress of Revenue Collection

Although Elphinstone's Report was perfect in theory, the Supreme Government was not pleased with its practical aspect, for it was not profitable to them, and commented as to how the late Government's collection was more than theirs, inspite of the maladministration of Baji Rao II. As can be seen from the private letter by the Governor General Lord Hastings to Elphinstone which stated, that he was surprised to see, "After all our successes the Presidency of Bombay is to remain a dead loss to the Company, to the amount of more than a million sterling annually." He further instructed him "to ask his Accountant General to make some improvements both speedy and considerable, for the court will never tolerate such a prospect and that I should incur merited reprobation were I to acquiesce in it.... "[99] To this Elphinstone replied: "He found the Peshwa much better off, but that was due to extra exactions, and the whole of the regular revenue came into his treasury, while their establishment was large because they had still much to learn and all the sources of revenue to explore."[100] But Elphinstone hoped that "the expenses will rapidly diminish every year and the revenue will increase, though not with equal rapidity, and the conquests, which now only help to pay the charges, rendered necessary by our general war, will yield a large revenue to relieve our old encumbrances."[101] Besides, the country was still in a very unsettled condition, with fear of insurrections all round. He, therefore, requested the authorities in Calcutta to tolerate a lesser income and higher expenditure for some time.[102]

Elphinstone instructed his collectors to pay more attention to the collection of revenue, which would prove to be more profitable to the Government.

Pune:

Robertson, the Collector of Pune after making a survey of the entire district, submitted his report to Chaplin on 1st May 1820. In his report he gave a detail account of the history of revenue collection and the ample difficulties he and his sub-ordinates faced, some of them have already been stated earlier.[103]

In the revenue settlement of 1821 Robertson even included the income derived from customs, farms, and town taxes which he had not included in his settlement of 1818. The land and 'sayer' (excise) revenue in 1821 was Rs.13,51,422, in addition to which Rs.2,36,237 were derived from farms and town taxes. The cost of collection, exclusive of salaries to Europeans was Rs.93,666, or about 7 per cent on the revenue.[104] This was the first attempt to introduce Ryotwari settlement in the village according to the instructions given by Elphinstone. An earlier attempt, made in 1819, had foundered in consequence of an epidemic of cholera that broke out causing severe hardship to the ryot. Robertson explained the method of procedure. He said that the annual settlements were made by him based on papers prepared by the village and district officers as long as only a village settlement was attempted. When the detailed settlement with individual ryot was commenced, much of the work necessarily devolved on the Mamlatdars of subdivisions. Robertson and his establishment at first determined the gross amount each village had to pay, the Mamlatdar inquired into and fixed the share of this that each landholder should contribute, but as in this system there was no check on the Mamlatdar to prevent collusion between him and the Patil in unfairly distributing the individual payments, it was arranged from 1821-1822 that each holder should receive in writing (patta) stating the payment due by him, and pass an agreement to pay it. This system greatly reduced the power and the emoluments of the village officers, as it relieved them of many of their duties. The Mamlatdar in the distribution of these payments, had to be guided, chiefly by the 'jamin jhada' a document professing to show the cultivation of each plot of land in the village, which had to be carefully checked. Arrangements were also made so that no instalment of revenue should be payable until the crop out of the proceeding of which it was supposed to be met had been reaped. Not to demand security for payment except such as was provided by all the ryots of village becoming mutually responsible for each other (this was as a rule a merely nominal proceeding) and to ensure receipts being given for all payments made. In this way, by granting cash advances to assist ryots in their cultivation, by not unduly pressing for the payment of the revenue by retraint of property and by other means, every endeavour was made to improve the condition of the agricultural classes. In consequence of these measures, and notwithstanding the continued fall of prices that took place about this time, an increase and about 80,000 bighas in cultivation, and of about Rs.80,000 in revenue, was brought about in two years. But the continued fall in the price of grain caused a good deal of local distress and discontent. The monsoon of 1823-24, moreover, proved a failure, and the revenue, which had been Rs.10,37,880 in the previous year fell to Rs.7,30,910.[105]

Ahmednagar:

The first record of a separate revenue for Ahmednagar is in the accounts for 1820, when the total (inclusive, probably of mohtarfa, taxes on traders sayer (excise), and miscellaneous, such as spirits and drugs) appears as Rs.18,24,428 from 1st May 1819 to 30th April 1820. In the next year this fell to Rs.16,35,703 in consequence of the transfer of Sivner, Junner and Indapur to Pune. Then again owing to the transfer of Barsi to Sholapur in the next year 1821-22 the revenue again fell to Rs.15,84,527. In the following year, again, there was a nominal increase of Rs.56,916 in consequence of the annexation of some of the Sholapur Talukas formerly in Dharwar.[106]

It has been observed that by 1821 about 390,000 bighas of waste land had been cultivated and Captain Pottinger wrote in 1822 that, if it had not been for the cholera, which, had raged, the change would have been quite considerable. Upto 1822 prices were still fairly high, and the tillage of waste had gone up to 5,00,000 bighas, but with the end of this period a fall in the value of grain had set in which put a stop to this rapid rate of progress. Jowari fell from 30 to 90 seers a Rupee and in 1823-24 the area of tillage fell from 2,154,326 to 1,981,182 bighas, the gross revenue fell from Rs.25,50,530 to Rs.22,04,590, ands rise took place in remissions from Rs.97,420 to Rs.2,96,400.[107] This was chiefly due to less rainfall in 1823 and in 1824 it was practically nil, due to which severe famine broke out.

Satara:

As previously stated Captain Grant was entrusted to manage the territory of the Raja of Satara for the first few years. In 1822 Grant handed over the internal administration to the Raja.[108] The system introduced by him in Satara was known as 'Grant Sahebache Dastur', and it was followed and remembered for a long time by the people of Satara. The two charts No. 1 and No. 2 given on the next page show that within a short period of 4 years i.e. 1818-1822 Grant succeeded in establishing quite a sound revenue policy, and the chart No. 1 shows that the revenue increased every year. The revenue collection for the fasli year 1228 (1819) was Rs.13,79,618.1.87½. For the fusli year 1229 (1820) Rs.15,22,463,3.50; for fasli year 1230 (1821)

No. 1.

A statement showing at one view the Increase of Revenue of the Territory of His Highness the Raja of Satara during the four years it has been superintended by the British Authorities.[110]

	Total Revenue	Remitted or probable amt. of Remissions	Outstandings	Amount increase of Rev.	Annual amt. of increased Receipt into the treasury	Recoverable
For the fuslee year 1228	13,79,618.1.87½	24,027.1.12½	-	-	-	-
For the fuslee year 1229 A.D.	13,15,559.1.74¼	-				
Beejapoor	18,705.2.93½					
Annual increase of revenue	1,31,731.1.56½					
Amount	15,96,028.1.25					
Deduct Fultun	73,564.1.75					
Total for the year 1229	15,22,463.3.50	11,160.0.0	8,329.3.43¼	1,31,731.1.56½	12,31,401.2.12½	8,329.3.43¼
For the fuslee year 1230	15,82,588.3.62½	4,380.0.0	5,731.2.71¼	60,125.0.12½	54,393.1.40¼	5,731.2.71¼
For the fuslee year 1231	16,43,547.0.15¼	24,500.0.0	7,45,094.0.39¼			
Total increase				2,52,814.2.22¼	0.0.06	

Satara, 3rd April, 1822.

Sd/- James Grants

Pol. Agent.

No. 2.

Revenue Settlement for the fuslee year 1231, showing the General Assessment the amount of Collection and outstanding Balances upto 31st March 1822 of the Territory of His Highness the Raja of Satara.[110]

	Name of the Districts		Jumma Bundee of General Assessment for fuslee 1231 including all customs	Collected upto 31st March 1822	Outstanding Balance on the 31st March 1822
1.	District of	Satara	1,06,213.1.43¾	58,043.0.31¼	48,170.1.12½
2.	"	Jawlie	49,517.3.93¾	30,917.0.56¼	18,600.3.37½
3.	"	Taagaon	1,13,445.1.81¼	56,483.0.12½	57,007.1.68¾
4.	"	Karad	2,16,502.1.62½	1,02,190.3.25	1,14,311.2.37¼
5.	"	Walwa	2,21,122.0.87½	1,76,870.1.56¼	44,251.3.31¼
6.	"	Kuttao	1,73,920.1.34½	83,416.1.18¾	90,874.0.15¼
7.	"	Kanapoor	1,26,037.16¼	65,284.0.12½	60,753.0.93¾
8.	"	Punderpoor	1,65,969.1.18¾	83,768.3.58¾	82,200.2.25
9.	"	Waee	1,80,864.2.75	96,932.0.68¾	83,932.2.6¼
10.	"	Korygaon	1,49,011.3.81¼	62,870.0.31¼	86,141.3.50
11.	"	Bijapoor	1,24,322.3.68¾	57,591.0.56¼	66,731.3.12½
12.	"	Huzoor	16,619.0.0	-	16,619.0.0
		Total	16,43,547.0.15¾	8,73,952.0.25	7,69,594.3.93¾

Satara, 3rd April 1822.

Sd/- James Grant

Pol. Agent

Rs.15,82,588.3.62½ and fusli year 1231 (1822) Rs.16,43,547.0.15¾. The revenue in these years showed a total increase of Rs.2,52,814.2.22¼ as seen in column 5 in chart No. 1.[109]

However, the available records show that the Raja did not succeed in maintaining the same progressive policy as started by Grant. Though the latter, as just seen on the previous page, during the last two years of his administration realised upwards Rs.15,50,000 each year and had calculated that the Raja's revenue would increase, this however was not the case, the realisations including the balances in 1822-23 amounted to 14,25,314 and in 1823-24 to 14,43,617. In the year 1823 the great loss of cattle and the destruction of the kharif crop will fall heavily on him and it was hardly possible to calculate on collecting more than 12,00,000.[111] On 1st Nov. 1823, the Raja's treasury exhibited a balance of Rs.1,41,711.[112]

Khandesh:

Of all the collectors Briggs was the only one who seemed to have been gifted with a remarkable intellect for interpreting Elphinstone's~~is~~ instructions and making suggestion to the latter. He pointed out that the Government should not rely too much on land revenue for it could easily collect 'more revenue from custom duties', Though he admitted that in a country like Khandesh it would be difficult to tax luxuries - where the necessaries of life were so scare.

But, at the same time suggested that even in a country like Khandesh, "Batti, tobacco and arreck are good subjects for taxation. The two former are in extensive requisition, the latter will bear to be taxed much heavier than it is. But few people except our followers can use it. Salt appears to be one of the very best article of taxation as being the mostly used by all classes. The use of spieces is very little known."[113] Briggs also informed Elphinstone that he had gone through Munro's report on the ceded Districts and had come to the conclusion that 'a low permanent quit rent or tax on land equal to about 1/6 of the net profit will in the end be found, the most advantageous system of Indian finance that the bulk of the revenue should be derived from trade and manufactures including, duties on exports, imports, licences and stamps."[114] However, it appears, that though Elphinstone appreciated Briggs suggestion could not succeed in putting it in practice, and much attention was not given to it, as Elphinstone was too occupied with other problems.[115]

Briggs even possessed the talent of originality, as can be seen from his report which he prepared without any special records, or the revenue reports of General Munro or others before him. He boasted that, "I feel much satisfied with having obtained the knowledge I have from the mass of information and the clouds of obscurity that were opposed to my getting any insight into the business and I am free to confess that I owe much of my success to

Appa Row and Nursing Row the latter is one of the best revenue servants I have met with."[116] It appears that Briggs was much influenced by Malcolm's work in Central India and even by Malcolm's report on the Malwa revenue which, "I think", he wrote "is very good". He further stated that, "The most important fact of it will be the comparative resources of the country 30 years ago .... This will tend more than anything to exhibit the true state of the case as to improvement."[117]

Briggs goes on to explain the socio-economic condition of the ryots. ".... Candeish is recovering itself", he wrote, "but like a patient who has been debilitated by a chronic complaint it is by slow degrees only tho' the symptoms of returning health are certainly apparent."

(1) The Ryots never require to borrow money at exhorbitant interest they get Tuggawee from the surcar without any difficulty.

(2) They are permitted to sell their grain where and at what price they choose.

(3) They are never pushed for payments till their harvest are gathered in and till they have had an opportunity of realizing the value of their crops.

(4) Each Ryot knows to a fraction every legitimate demand made on him...."[118]

He further states, "The settlement for each individual was done (through the agency of the Patil of his village) on the spot and the Patta of each village was given into the hands of each ryot by the Mamlatdar or Hukdar; the ryot was enabled at once to state if the settlement was an unjust one or too heavy."[119]

To ensure that the Kunbis of Khandesh were not cheated of remission in revenue, Briggs decided to do away 'rivaj' rates and to ascertain through personal inquiry the taxes which the peasants could equitably pay to the State. According to the custom in Khandesh cultivable land was divided into three categories:

(1) Patasthal or land irrigated by public waterworks and assessed according to the quality and nature of the crop on a given extent of land.

(2) Motasthal or land irrigated by privately constructed wells.

(3) Jirayat or unirrigated land.

The last two were assessed according to the quality and extent of the land only.

For Patasthal land the assessment was the average of all the crops in one being 23½ Rupees per bigha as the latter was irrigated by public waterworks while the assessment in motasthal was only Rs.3.[120] Therefore, Briggs felt that it would be better to tax patasthal lands on the basis of the actual crop grown by the cultivator. This was according to him a most objectionable practice, since it did not offer the Kunbis any incentive to cultivate crops which a ryot could have made on a superior crop as it was appropriated by the State in the form of an enhanced rate. The peasants of Khandesh consequently, turned to the cultivation of inferior crops, firstly merely to escape the unwelcome attention of the mamletdars, and secondly it was also due to the difference of rates in the different kinds of produce. Hence Briggs argued that it was advisable to equalise the rates of patasthal lands.[121]

Besides abolishing a system of assessment which discouraged the peasants from growing crops which yielded a high rate of profit, Briggs reduced the sixtyeight scales of tax on motasthal land to eight, and he also reduced the 122 scales of tax on jirayat land to eleven scales.[122]

A settlement based on these principles was introduced in Khandesh in 1821. Which resulted in a considerable reduction of the native establishment. The net increase to the revenue in Khandesh in 1821 had been Rs.1,60,515.[123] But before Briggs' settlement could be put in practice Chaplin who had succeeded Elphinstone as Commissioner objected to it. As his experience as a revenue officer under Sir Thomas Munro had convinced him that a survey which was not based on 'known and fixed principles that had already been approved by experience, was unlikely to prove successful.'[124]

However, Briggs' new survey was put to experiment in the village of Bhanmod. Chaplin informed that as soon as he entered the village he was confronted by an outcry against 'the new classification and assessment',[125] since the burden of land had been raised by 50 to 60 per cent.

Therefore Chaplin immediately did away with the new classification of assessment suggested by Briggs, and formulated his own plan for the collection of revenue, and said it should be done through the Patil as was the tradition of the country. He further added that 'a modification of the former system could be adopted which should possess most of the advantage of a complete Ryotwar Settlement without any of the inconveniences apprehended ffom that mode of management. The plan alluded to is that after the rights and payments of each Ryot should have been fixed by the Survey the village be farmed for a certain number of years to the Patil, the collector retaining the control of the Kulkurnee's accounts and a title to interfere whenever the rights of the Ryots appeared to be encroached on.[126]

After going through Chaplin's report Elphinstone paid a visit to the Deccan, to observe the effects of experimental arrangement adopted for the administration of that territory and to ascertain what alteration were necessary to render the system more complete. He spent in total five months in the Deccan and remarked that "The result of my observation is very favourable to the success of our administration and even where I would recommend alterations in the plan adopted, I think it is fortunate that they have not been earlier introduced."[127] Elphinstone made certain suggestions: "The survey will fix the rights and the payment of each Ryot, after which the village may be formed for a certain number of years to the Patil. The Collectors retaining the full control of the Kulkarni's accounts, and being entitled to inquire and to interfere whenever the rights of the Ryots appear to be encroached on. The assessment on the village should be so moderate as to allow some profit to the Patil, even when obliged to make remissions. The whole profit of the waste lands during his lease should go to him. All profit from improving his own land should be the Ryots. At the end of the lease the village should revert for a year or two to the ryotwar system, for the purpose of detecting abuses, either towards Government or the Ryots and should then be let again on the same principles as before."[128]

However, from Elphinstone's letter to Strachey it appears that the latter was against Elphinstone's conservative outlook and suggested to him to have an utilitarian approach which would even satisfy the Court of Directors.[129]

At the same time there was difference of opinion on the one hand by conservatives like Chaplin and Robertson and on the other by utilitarians like Pringle, who was a revenue official under Elphinstone.

Pringle had come to India after attending the courses at the East India College at Haileybury where he was administered a strong dose of utilitarian philosophy and Ricardian economics. As a doctrinaire Pringle disagreed with the conservative British administrators about the nature of reforms to be introduced in the rural reorganisation. His utilitarian concepts and Ricardian economics prejudiced him against the Maratha revenue system under Bajirao II. This incidental ideological preoccupation of Pringle made him aware of an earlier revenue system of the Marathas which was introduced by Peshwa Madhaorao I, known as Kamal survey. The Kamal Survey was based on an evaluation of individual holdings rather than of entire villages. This survey provided an accurate record of the rural resources. Pringle favoured the revival of Kamal Survey and he advanced utilitarian arguments in favour of his proposal. Pringle proposed the institution of a legal and rational relationship between the ryot, as a tenant, and the state, as the supreme landlord in the country.[130]

Elphinstone though a conservative at heart was struck by Pringle's brilliant analysis of the Kamal survey, and he was struck by the boldness and clarity with which Pringle had outlined a new system of revenue administration. Besides this, Elphinstone was aware of the utilitarian influence to which the Court of Directors was exposed in the person of James Mill, who was the Chief Examiner of the East India Company. Since the revenue dispatches from the Court of Directors were filled increasingly with short discussion on the virtues of the new political economy of Smith and Ricardo.[131] Elphinstone therefore, though it expedient to appoint Pringle as the Superintendent of the 'Revenue Survey and the Assessment of the

Deccan.'[132]

Pringles Revenue Settlement (1824-1828)

Elphinstone, though he entrusted the survey to a radical like Pringle, his distrust of policies did not lessen. They were likely to provoke a social upheaval or to disturb long established rights. He was very conscious of this danger; therefore while instructing Pringle to initiate a new survey warned him that, the rights of the mirasdars would not be destroyed, 'as these rights featured so prominently in the organisation of rural society.'[133]

Most of Pringle's proposals were incorporated in the survey and settlement which introduced a ryotwari system of land revenue establishing a direct relationship between the mirasdar and the state. Pringle's preoccupation with Ricardian theory of rent had prompted him to reject the traditional principle of assessment on the gross produce. The rates of assessment were reckoned on the basis of an estimate of the yields of crops on different kinds of soil, and land revenue was re-examined from year to year which provided additional opportunity to the government to augment the state revenue.[134]

Pringle's survey was first put in practice throughout the territories of Maharashtra in 1828 just one year after Elphinstone had left Bombay. But, some how it failed to serve its purpose, its main drawback was due to uneven, and very heavy assessment.[135]

Therefore in the latter half of 1830, Goldsmid of the civil service and Wingate of the Engineers, were appointed to make another survey. Goldsmid and Wingate abolished Pringle's emphasis on the laws of political economy but they still subscribed to the utilitarian belief that the springs of creativity could be tapped only by individuals like the Kunbis, and not by organised social groups like Jathas.[136] Beginning with 1835 a cadastrial survey of all lands was gradually undertaken and simultaneously a new revenue settlement was introduced in Bombay Presidency district by district. In the Maratha districts the reform had been completed by the close of the fifties and early sixties.[137]

A Brief Review of Revenue Settlement:

Thus it has been observed that the work of Ryotwari Settlement started by Elphinstone in 1818 was finally completed in 1835, nearly 7 years after Elphinstone left Maharashtra. The task of revenue could not be achieved during the time of Elphinstone, as he himself explains in his Report of 1827; "The expected augmentation of our disposable revenue has not entirely taken place. Instead of Rs.52,00,000 which we expected to have at the end of the years, the whole surplus in the ordinary seasons is Rs.35,00,000. The failure has principally been in the increase of receipts and in the diminution of civil charges.

But there are still three years of the period to run, and we have been unfortunate in the failure of the rains for two successive seasons, in the prevalence of the cholera and in the fall of the prices."[138]

Secondly it has ~~been~~ also been observed that though Elphinstone and his lieutenants like Robertson, Briggs, Pottinger, Grant and Chaplin tried to revive the system of administration as it had flourished during the days of the Peshwas, and inspite their reluctance to undermine the institutions of self-government within the village, the disintegration of the traditional institutions of Government was inevitable. They could not accept the old system in toto, as it was defective in certain respects. While introducing new elements in the system they had to attack the evil practices that had crept into it, which also resulted in underming the position of certain authorities like, the Deshmukh, the mamlatdar and the Patil who had enjoyed wide powers under the old system. The mamlatdar now became a tool in the hands of the collectors, and his actions were controlled by a narrow and precise set of regulations. The Deshmukh whose informal yet intimate connection with the peasants had played so important a role in ensuring the efficiency of the former administration suffered a similar eclipse. The Collectors were inclined to look upon him as a parasite, and they were also reluctant in negotiating the land-tax with the patils and the Kunbis. The Patil too, retained very few of the prerogatives which had made him so important a member of the village community. He could no longer induce upris to settle in his village on preferential leases, nor could he gift away the right of ownership in land. The new restrictions on the authority of the patil, and the attempt of Collectors like Grant and Briggs to negotiate pattas directly with the cultivators, weakened the ties of association between the kunbis and the patil.

Notes

1. MSS EUR F128 Box 7 No. 23. Elphinstone to Strachey Bombay. 21-7-1823.
2. Ibid.
3. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 19. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay. 11-3-1822.
4. MSS EUR F1 8 BOX 7 No. 26. Elphinstone to Strachey Candalla. 7-11-1824.
   Mauzewar - settlement made with a group of proprietors sometimes even with an individual headman.
5. Peshwa Daftar: Deccan Commissioner's File Vol. 458. Elphinstone to Lord Hastings, Camp near Poona, 18-6-1818.
6. Chaplin, W. Report Exhibiting Fiscal and Judicial Administration. Introducted into the conquered Territories above the Ghauts, under the Authority of the Commissioner in the Dekhan, ombay, 1824, p.144.
7. Ibid. p. 156.
8. Ibid. p. 157.
9. Ibid. p. 162.
   In the case of villages falling into arrears, Gyuntkool lands, or lands thrown up by Meerasdars or left waste owing to the decease of the owners, were sometimes disposed of on Meeras tenure to other ryots for a price paid for the same, which was applied toward the discharge of public dues" - Chaplin p.162.

10. Beven, Thirty years in India, Vol. II, London 1839, p. 225.
It is believed that the farming system was introduced by Trimbakji Dengle at the instance of the Peshwa, for the purpose of ensuring a fixed sum of revenue, in order to make the necessary preparation for war against the English.
This system was followed at certain times by the Moghuls and also by other Peshwas. Even during the days of Peshwa Baji Rao II it is believed that it was followed only in certain ports of the country.
11. Peshwa Daftar Poona: Deccan Commissioner's File Vol. 126 No. 164. Pottinger to Elphinstone, Ahmednagar. 30-8-1818.
12. D.C. File Vol. 128, No. 277, Pottinger to Elphinstone, Ahmednagar. 31-10-1818.
13. D.C. File Vol. 126 No. 164, Pottinger to Elphinstone Ahmednagar. 30-8-1818.
14. Ibid.
15. Elphinstone's 'Report , on Territories conquered From the Peshwa.' Official writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone, Edited by C.W. Forrest, London, 1884, pp. 294-295.
16. D.C. File Vol. 402, No. 336.
Elphinstone to the Collector. 10-7-1818.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. D.C. File Vol. 402 No. 362. Elphinstone collectors. 14-7-1818. Also refer to Dr. R.D. Choksey's book Early British Administration (1817-1836) pp.29-34.

21. D.C. File Vol. 265, Satara 6-5-1818 - by Grant.
Ibid. Vol. 90. Poona 29-9-1818 by Robertson.
Ibid Vol. 170, Talneir 1-3-1818 by Briggs.

22. D.C. File Marathi. Vol. 124 Rumal 115. Instructions issued by Pottinger. 1819.

23. Elphinstone's Report op.cit. pp.277-278.

24. D.C. File Vol. 267 No. 170. Grant to Elphinstone. 30-1-1819.

25. D.C. File Vol. 126 No. 190, Pottinger to Elphinstone. Ahmednagar. 16-9-1818.

26. D.C. File Vol. 267. No. 170. Grant to Elphinstone. 30-1-1819.

27. Ibid.

28. Briggs Letters : Vol. I.
MSS EUR F88 BOX 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone. 12-7-1818.

29. D.C. File Vol. 125 No. III. Pottinger to Elphinstone, Ahmednagar 18-6-1818.

30. Pottinger's Private Letters: Vol. I. MSS EUR F88 BOX 7B. Pottinger to Elphinstone. 3-9-1818.

31. Selection of Papers from the Records at the East-India House, Relating to the Revenue, Police, and Civil and Criminal Justice under the Company's Government in India (4 vols. London, 1820-26)

(Henceforth it will be referred as E.I.Co. Papers) Vol. IV. p. 715.

32. Ibid. p.799.
33. Ibid. p.810.
34. D.C. File Vol. 403, Elphinstone to Collectors 4-10-1818.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Munro Papers: MSS EUR F151. Elphinstone to Munro Poona 27-10-1822.
39. Ballhatchet, K. Social Policy and Social Change in Western India 1817-1830, Oxford, 1957. p.91.
40. MSS EUR F151 No. 30. Chaplin to Munro Hubli. 24-8-1818.
41. D.C. File Vol. 402 No. 336. Elphinstone to Collectors 10-7-1818.
42. Ballhatche, K. op.cit. p.92.
43. Ibid. p.95.
44. D.C. File Vol. 402. No. 336. Elphinstone to his Collectors. 10-7-1818.
45. Rogers A, The Land Revenue of Bombay. Vol. II, London, 1892, p.95.
46. Private Papers of Robertson. Vol. III. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6B. Robertson to Elphinstone.
47. D.C. File Vol. 132. No. 577. Pottinger's Report. 23-8-1819.

48. D.C. File. Vol. 267. No. 170. Grant to Elphinstone 30-1-1819.

49. Roger A. op.cit. Vol. II. p.277 and MSS EUR F88 BOX 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone.

50. D.C. File. Vol. 89. No. 48. Robertson to Elphinstone. Poona 2-7-1818.

51. D.C. File. Vol. 89 No. 57. Robertson to Col. Cox, Poona. 21-6-1818.

52. D.C. File. Vol. 91 No. 151. Robertson to Elphinstone, Poona, 27-10-1818.

53. Ibid.

54. D.C. File. Vol. 133. Pottinger to Wilkins Hewreh. 25-12-1819.

55. D.C. File Vol. 126. No. 164. Pottinger to Elphinstone. 30-8-1818.

56. D.C. File Vol. 130. No. 370. Pottinger to Elphinstone, Nasik. 2-2-1819.

57. D.C. File Vol. 130. No. 335. Pottinger to Elphinstone, Korhalle. 15-1-1819.

58. Ibid. refer to appendix No. I.

59. Roger A. op.cit. Vol. II. p.156.

60. D.C. File Vol. 132 No. 577. Pottinger's Report. 23-8-1819.

61. Ibid.

62. D.C. File. Vol. 128. No. 277. Pottinger to Elphinstone. 31-10-1818.

63. D.C. File. Vol. 267. No. 170. Grant to Elphinstone.

30-1-1819.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. D.C. File. Vol. 265. No. 50. Grant's Report. 12-7-1818.

68. Briggs Private Letters: Vol. II. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone. 14-11-1818.

69. Ibid.

70. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone, Dhoolia. 14-12-1818.

71. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit p.129.

72. Ibid. p. 130.

73. D.C. File. Vol. 176 No. 539. Briggs to Elphinstone, Dhulie. 23-6-1819.

74. D.C. File. Vol. 402. No. 384. Elphinstone to Briggs, Deihely. 22-7-1818.

75. D.C. File. Vol. 176. No. 539. Briggs to Elphinstone, Dhulia. 23-6-1819.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

81. D.C. File. Vol. 172. No. 204. Briggs to Elphinstone, Nundurbar. 13-9-1818.

82. D.C. File. Vol. 177 No. 584. Briggs to Elpbinstone -

no date.

83. Ibid.

84. D.C. File. Vol. 176. No. 539. Briggs to Elphinstone, Dhulia. 23-6-1819.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Elphinstone' Report op.cit. pp.296-298.

89. Ibid. pp.301-302.

90. Ibid. p.302.

91. Peshwa Dafter, Poona: Hak FileRumal No. 33. File 48, Elphinstone's Report on 'The Territories conquered from the Peshwa', (contains even the unpublished part of the Report). p.1.

92. Elphinstone's Report Unpublished Part. Appendix No. 13.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid. Appendix No. 14.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid. Appendix No. 15.

97. Ibid. Appendix No. 16.

98. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.139.

99. MSS EUR F88 BOX 7E. Vol. 8 No. 18. Private Hasting to Elphinstone. 13-5-1820.

100. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone, The Indian Years 1796-1827, Bombay, 1971. p.230.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.
103. E.I. Co. Papers. Vol. IV. p.434.
104. Roger A. Vol. II, op.cit. p.99.
105. Ibid. p.100.
106. Roger, A. op.cit. Vol. II, p.156.
107. Ibid.
108. D.C. File Vol. 275 No. 544. 3-4-1822.
109. Choksey R.D. Raja Pratapsinh of Satara 1818-1839, p. 88. J. Grant to W. Chaplin. 7-2-1822.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid. pp.107-8, Briggs to Chaplin. 3-12-1823.
112. Ibid.
113. Briggs Private Letters: Vol. II. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone. Arcosse. 17-1-1819.
114. Briggs Letters: Vol. I. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone. 12-8-1818.
115. Choksey R.D. Economic History of the Bombay Deccan, And Karnatak (1818-1868), Poona, 1945. p.37.
116. Briggs Private Letters: Vol. II. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone. 27-6-1819.
117. Ibid, Briggs to Elphinstone, 28-9-1820.
118. Ibid, Briggs to Elphinstone, 20-11-1820.
119. Ibid.
120. E.I. Co. Papers, Vol. IV. p.344. Briggs Report - 31-9-1821.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid, p.311. Chaplin's Report. 5-11-1822.

123. Ibid. p.348. Briggs Report. 31-9-1821.

124. Bombay Archive: Revenue Department. Vol. 26/50 of 1822. W. Chaplin to J. Briggs. 3-1-1822.

125. Ibid.

126. MSS EUR F88 BOX7. Chaplin to Elphinstone. 1822.

127. MSS EUR F88 BOX15G. Minute on the Deccan. 14-1-1823.

128. Ibid.

129. MSS EUR F128 BOX7 No. 26. Elphinstone to Strachey, Candalla. 7-11-1824.

130. Ravinder Kumar, Western India In The Nineteenth Century, London, Toronto, 1968. pp.66-68.

131. Adam Smith, the father of Political Economy advocated the principle of laissez - faire in economic activity. He strongly resented the interference of Government in any kind of economic action; whatever is natural is bound to be in the long run beneficial was the keynote of his economic policy. Ricardo in his Principles of Economics followed the same line of argument.

132. Ravinder Kumar, op.cit. p.87.

133. Revenue Department Vol. 13/145 of 1826, Minute by the Governor of Bombay. 14-8-1826.

134. Ranade P.V. Maharashtra under the Company 1818-1858 unpublished thesis. pp.77-78.

135. Choksey R.D. Economic History of the Deccan. pp.5-7.

136. Ranade P.V. op.cit. p.78.

137. Ravinder Kumar, op.cit. p.127.

138. MSS EUR F88 BOX8E. Elphinstone's Report on Deccan. 1827.

Appendix I

Deccan Com. File Vol. 130, No. 355.

Circuit Kutcherry
Korhalla, 15th Jan. 1819.

From: Pottinger
To: Elphinstone

On the subject of holding forth such encouragement as shd. induce persons to come and cultivate waste land and jungle well suited for cultivation.

(Pottinger give an idea of his plan.)

.... In earlier part of Baji Row's Reign and during those of the preceding Ph., it was usual to grant Kowls of Istawah for different periods acc. to quality and quantity of the land. These Kowls very seldom, if ever exceeded ten years and some of them were not for more than three wh. of ground had only lain follow for one or two persons. The usual term was however 5 years and in case there was much jungul, or any cause for expence, two years were added to cause for expence two years were added to at different periods of the Istawah Grant. Thus, of Revenue of the 2nd and 3rd and 5th and 6th years was taken at same rate and amount not demanded till 7th.

These Kowls of Istawah were rarely given by the Shaikdars of villages after they had obtained Sanction of the Kumavisdar or Soobedar (the latter of wh. appellations applied to the principal Revenue officer of a very large District such as Joonur, Nassuck) but commonly by those officers themselves. They were submitted to Sir Soobah when he went his which it was usual for him to do every second, third year and even though he might not of the terms that had been granted he never treated about conferming them, or called on of cultivator to make good any apparent deficiency. He held Moamlatdar responsible for the agreement, whether actually concluded by himself one of his Shaikdars under his permission and saw cause to doubt either to ability or honesty former in the transaction he removed him immediately and reported his conduct to Court. The Sirdar himself likewise sometimes gave Istawa to villages where he had an opportunity of annually examining state of the ground abolish them, and in this instance there was no further investigation.

When a Patil wished to obtain Istawah for himself or any of the Ryots of the village he repaired to be Shaikdar or (if near him) to the Kumavisdar to whom he applied for the usual Kowl. An inquiry was then instituted into nature soil, the number of years it had lain waste, probable length of time, it would require to bring it into complete cultivation the number of Bullocks that would be needed for each plough to till it, the facilities which the situation offered for irrigation, and the means which

the situation offered for irrigation, and the means which

the cultivators had of availing themselves of this circumstance. As soon as all these points were ascertained the soil was valued, with reference to any contiguous fields or village lands of a similar description and Kowls were then drawn out under the Kumaviedar's seal and given to the Pateil who handed them over to Ryots with an exhortation to avail themselves Sirkar's kindness and to use their best exertions to profit by the terms he had obtained for them.

When the Kowl had thus been formally exceeuted and delivered, the Ryot became virtually owner of the field or portion ground stated in it because so long as he fulfilled the terms and paid his rents if regularity he could not be deprived of the right of cultivation but moment he failed to do either these, the Kumavisdar could despossess him and entrust his land to another on the same or a different, footing as might seem necessary. This however, was a very harsh measure and therefore scarcely ever resorted to. If it was found that a Ryot's ground had really been overvalued in of first instance, and that with every wish to do so he was unable to pay his rent, Kumavisdar might, on his own responsibility where they had been reported relax in the terms, or if they had been brought notice of the Sir Soobah it was usual to that officer and get his leave to alter them.

When period an Istawah grant expired, Ryot might, if he chose to cultivate to full extent his ground by so doing he forfeited (as I have already stated) his claim to it in future and of in concert with the Shaikdar acting under permission. Kumanviadar, was bound to find, if possible, another cultivator whose tenure was exactly that his predecessor on other hand if Ryot was pleased his land he had it in his family as a Meerassee or hereditary possessed by simply agreeing to pay rent them rather they were cultivated or not. The rent received by the Government in this case is termed Sha and nothing short utter poverty will prevent being paid. A man will sell his house and bullocks or cloathes and even bind himself serve another, to ensure payment his therefore it is honourable and respectable in of his neighbours to preserve his Meerassee and when he fails to pay his dues, upon the his run is considered and he becomes a bankrupt.

The preceding is a brief view - practice observed in just and flourishing periods of the sovereignty.

Many of these regulations have been widely aviated from in latter times. Meerassee land have been seized from the lawful holders transferred to relations and dependants of favourities and partizans of great men Kowl been granted by Patails out Sanction of even a Shaikdar and the consequences have been that their friends were favoured whilst other Ryots were overburthened. Therefore demands to make up the defeciencies. Every succeeding year increased this evil by reducing the no. of ryots - some whom fled, whilst others sold their cattle to pay their last year's rent and became servants - their more fortunate neighbours. The farmers and their agents having no interest in general prosperity - out did not take the trouble to investigate the motives and fairness of Kowls and cared not whence the money came provided they got as much as they expected from a village. The old revenue system ceased even to be thought of and extortion took place of a just realization of the revenue.

In detailing the custom formerly regarding Cowls, I have in reality described the method to which it is my object to revert in the arrangements that I have in contemplation and it only remains to consider the best mode of doing so as well as the most essential point - obtaining cultivators for the districts that are lying waste without drawing the Ryots from places where they are still in a state of comparative prosperity. The first step I therefore should propose to take would be to issue a proclamation stating that the Kumavisadars of certain districts have been empowered to grant Istawah Kowls to all persons who may be willing to cultivate in them and that a reasonable advance of money (Tughaee) would be made to them on finding satisfactory security for the fulfilment - agreements they entered into. The Kumaviadars would have strict orders to make strick inquiries regarding all people applying to them as should prevent any Ryot obtaining a Kowl who had left his own village for that purpose and I should likewise warn all any Kumavisadars to be careful that no persons quitted their homes consequence - Proclamation. Such a precaution might also be requisite within districts under the other civil authorities, subject to your order.

CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Mountstuart Elphinstone's next concern after the settlement of Revenue was the organisation of the administration of justice. The British authorities however, did not want to interfere with the customs of the country, partly because it took some time for them to understand what those customs actually were and partly because they were unwilling to create antagonism to their rule by interfering in the traditional law of the Marathas.[1]

Elphinstone found the existing Maratha system rotten to its very core. To him the superiority of the Brahmins and their prerogatives seemed mysterious and at the same time obsolete and absurd. Similarly the regulation of justice with disjointed civil and criminal courts, gave the system no consistency. Equity before law was unheard of and Elphinstone was determined to give this basic principle a fair trial here. But it has also been observed that inspite of the prevailing disorder and confusion in the judiciary, the institution of Panchayat (a council of five elder members for rendering justice) had managed to survive and mete out cheap and tolerable justice.[2] Elphinstone appreciated the Panchayats most of all the institutions of Maratha polity. He therefore wrote to his Collectors : "Our principle instrument must continue to be the puncheyet and it must continue to be exempted from all new forms of interference and regulation on our part."[3]

An attempt therefore has been made in the present chapter to show why Elphinstone wanted to preserve the panchayats and how the latter during his Governorship of Bombay, had the whole of the Bombay regulations formed into a regular code, which marked the beginning of the codification of law in Maharashtra.

Administrative System of The Marathas

The judicial system under the Marathas was not an organised one in the modern sense. They followed the traditional system in which the king was the head of the judiciary. Shivaji had created two posts in his council of eight ministers - the Nyayadish or the Chief Justice and the Panditrao, who were chiefly concerned with the administration of justice. The Nyayadish followed the traditional principles of justice in settling the various civil suits referred to him. The Panditrao was the chief of the ecclesiastical affairs and decided religious cases according to the scriptures.

The king and the Nayadish used to administer justice with the help of a 'majlis' (Council) comprising the government officials, watandars, Miraadars, and balutedars (artisans) of that locality. The village council comprising the leading members of the village community was headed by the village headman.[4]

The Peshwas became supreme after the death of Shahu in 1749 and assumed all judicial authority in their hands.[5] The King, the Nyayadish and the Panditrao, were thus relegated to the background in judicial administration under the later Peshwas. In the absence of the Peshwa his Diwan or the Phadnis, transacted the judicial business on his behalf through the Panchayats. Similarly, all the local officers, Sarsubhedars, Subhedars or Mamlatdars and Kamavisdars, etc. were authorised to decide suits through the Panchayats. The Sardars and the jagirdars, too, had their independent judicial organisation which also acted through the Panchayats.[6]

The indigenous judicial institutions were the Gotasabha, the Brahmasabha and the Jatisabha.

The Gotsabha comprising of the hereditary officials, the peasant proprietors and the artisans was the chief organ deciding all civil matters. They followed mainly the customary law in deciding the suits referred to them. There were village gotas, taraf gotas (taluka level) and the Pargana gotas (District level).

The Brahma Sabhas were usually situated at holy places of pilgrimage and centres of learning like Nasik, Paithan, Pandharpur, etc. The local learned Brahmin pandits constituted this council. It was presided over by the Dharmadhikari, who enjoyed watan from the state for this purpose. It had jurisdiction over religious matters referred to it either by the state or the local councils.

The 'Jati Sabha' or the caste assembly was usually comprised the prominent members of the caste. The Sabha decided the cases relating to caste, particularly the violation of the rules and regulations of caste. This Sabha thus tried only social and personal cases which affected caste.[7]

There was no codified law and the procedure of dispensing justice was very informal. These various judicial institutions consulted the old Sanskrit treatises on law, the customary law and the tradition while administering justice. The use of ordeals was quite in vogue during this period. Similicity and informality of procedure were the characteristic features of the Maratha judicial system - and these were followed by the Panchayats.

The insight which Elphinstone possessed into some of the enduring qualities of the administration of the Peshwas, and his ability to reproduce some of them in the new system of administration is brought out into bold relief in the Judicial Institutions which he created in Maharashtra. His approach to the problem of dispensing cheap and efficient justice was simple and ingenious. He believed that most of the disputes between the peasants concerned trivial issues and could best be settled through institutions with which they were well acquainted. It would, therefore, be a mistake to abolish the panchayats through which a majority of rural disputes had been resolved in the past. Besides that, the panchayats were also popular with the peasants, who referred to them as 'Punch

Purmeshwar' (i.e. the panchayats are like the Gods.) The abolition of such an institution, it was felt could have inflicted hardship on the people. An effort has been made in the present work to show how far Elphinstone succeeded in implementing the panchayats.

An Experiment with the Panchayat System

Elphinstone and his co-workers approved of the working of the Panchayats and felt it more suitable in settling disputes in rural areas than any other ordinary court of justice. They were aware of the fact that the Panchayats had considerable abuses. For instance, the Panchayats did not possess the necessary authority to execute their own decisions, and the members of the Panchayats were not above corruption. But this institution had taken deep root in Maratha Society. Hence Elphinstone felt that with the introduction of some reforms, this democratic approach to justice could be retained,[8] as it had all the germs of a democratic government.

In the system of the panchayats there were quite a few good lessons to be learnt by the foreign administrators. Firstly, the ideal of the panchayat system, as ascertained by early British administrators, was to produce between two disputants a reconciliation and a compromise for the general good. Secondly, the panchayats also contained in it the germ of modern popular suffrage. Suffrage naturally in a way leads to civic responsibility. Attendance at panchayats was compulsory and hence the villagers were taught to take an interest in local self-government. This shows that Government recognised the value of a citizen's opinion even though that citizen happened to be an illiterate villager. 'We find the system' wrote Elphinstone 'aiming at seeking the assistance of the most respectable people and men of good sense and probity.'[9]

Thirdly, in theory and very often in practice as well, nothing could have been more simple than the procedure of the Panchayats which showed how eminently suitable it was for the illiterate villagers of the rural areas. There is ample evidence to show that their popularity rested on the fairness which usually marked their decisions. Lastly, another remarkable asset of the panchayat system was its adaptability. It could be used for any and every kind of case, whether simple or complicated. Besides this Elphinstone even realised that the Company's Courts were remote from the people, but the panchayat could bring the administration of justice to their very doors.[10] This was also in keeping with the Benthamite principle of rendering justice cheap and simple.

Elphinstone in his circular letters to his Collectors, instructed them that, the judicial business would be managed by Pansheyats whose decisions were not to be set aside without some glaring impropriety. Panchayats could be formed in different ways, for instance if the parties were bankers, then the Panchayat was to be composed of bankers;

in the case of an ordinary dispute between villagers, the Patil of the village should be given the authority to ask some of the most intelligent and impartial cultivators to form a panchayat. 'But the practice to follow', wrote Elphinstone 'would be to allow the parties to choose two members each, but the public officer to nominate the umpire from the most respectable of the inhabitants not in the service of the Government, and not objected to by either party.'[11] Every revenue officer from the Patil to the mamlatdar, had the power to grant a panchayat on the application of the parties.

Elphinstone's instructions show that he was referring to the civil cases, although he did not specifically say so. One of his Collectors Grant, expressed the desire to use Panchayats in criminal trials also in Satara. Elphinstone did not approve of the idea and wrote back saying 'the experiment of Punchayets in cases is desirable ... but at present the most desirable of all things is to avoid experiments of every description. We will see about them a year hence.'[12] But, much to Elphinstone's surprise the experiment was made sooner than that: Briggs the Collector of Khandesh, misinterpreted his instructions. He thought that the Government required him to manage all judicial business, including criminal trial by panchayat. As Briggs had started doing so and was managing them well, Elphinstone allowed him to continue. But this example was not copied by any other Collector. Under his plan the European Collector had to merely hear appeals from panchayat decisions - and then only in the event of 'some glaring error or abuse', the matter was to be referred to the Commissioner.[13]

The Letters from the various Collectors reveal that they were all pleased with the working of the Panchayats, with the exception of Pottinger the Collector of Ahmednagar - though the former no doubt had to face a number of difficulties. Pottinger, unlike others, was not at all enthusiastic about panchayats. He established a judicial system of his own devising in the Ahmednagar Collectorate whereby either he or the Mamlatdars dealt with every case unless the parties agreed to accept the decision of a panchayat. Pottinger informed Elphinstone that although in accordance with the latter's wishes he had recommended suitors to make use of panchayats, he himself doubted their value and had hardly ever felt any confidence in the justice of their decisions.[14] Elphinstone who was so enthusiatic about the Panchayats did not approve of his approach and accordingly ordered him to give more scope to Panchayats.[15]

While on the other hand Lumsden, Robertson's assistant at Pune, reported that several Brahmins regularly attended his court everyday and willingly sat on all his panchayats: "I was pleased with this and only regretted I could not get sixty or seventy instead of six or seven of their disposition."[16]

Robertson the Collector of Pune said that he had never come across a panchayat decision that he had disagreed with, though very often he was called upon to decide several cases, because the parties could not agree upon a panchayat.[17]

Briggs the Collector of Khandesh like Malcolm did not like to stand on formalities and was always an opponent of legal formalities and ceremonies. "This Court is formed according to no particular law, and bound by no particular form, its object, being merely to ascertain the truth."[18] Briggs or his Assistant presided at all important trials, attended on one side by the Shastri, the Kazi and a clerk, and on the other side by the panchayat. In fact Briggs treated the panchayat like a jury. Elphinstone however did not very much appreciate the idea and informed Briggs that he should take a written opinion of the Shastri or Kazi regarding the mode of punishment according to Hindu or Islamic legal principles and to inflict it, 'unless obviously unjust or repugnant to the prestige of a civilised nation.'[19] So far Briggs had used the Shastri and the Kazi to swear in witnesses. Now in accordance to Elphinstone's instructions Briggs asked the Kazi to give a written judgement. He for the first time discovered that the Kazi was an illiterate person. Briggs was even more disappointed when he found that the Shastri who was conducting the business was using only one law book, and he had never hesitated in reading the passages from it in the Court and in explaining 'the letter as well as the spirit of the law.' Briggs was so taken aback by these insidents that he immediately wrote to Elphinstone to send him more law books and a new Kazi.[20]

Robertson too had a similar complaint. He wrote to Elphinstone that 'the great defect of Punchayats was the difficulty which the members find of unravelling disputes submitted to them'. He further stated that, 'at times the members of the Panchayats could not understand the cases, they left it to one or two members who either understand or pretend to understand the dispute; sometimes they sought the advise of lawyers - this caused the delay.'[21] Robertson suggested to Elphinstone that this evil could be alleviated by Government if in each Collectorship there was a body of acute men, whose sole duty would be to draw up summaries of suits, and to present them to Punchayats.[22]

Grant writing from Satara complained, that the Panchayats often took a long time to reach a decision : "I cannot get them to clear their proceedings", wrote Grant, "they sit day after day and keep talking, Kuss, Kuss, but no decision."[23] Elphinstone who was so determined on giving them a fair trial wrote back saying : "I suppose the plan of not allowing Juries to eat, originated in their endless discussions. Keep them hard at it till they agree, and they will agree that they may go about their own business."[24]

Some Collectors complained that the working of the Panchayats was very slow, Briggs the Collector of Khandesh who was the most enthusiatic of them all immediately suggested that accumulation of suits could be avoided by holding a number of different panchayats. This involved no extra expense either to the Government or to the suitors.

Briggs had already tried out this possibility, which had proved to be successful.[25]

After the Collectors had over a year's experience of the Panchayat system, Briggs, Robertson, Grant all reported favourably upon it,[26] with the exception of Pottinger who was more sceptical. He was particularly conscious of the danger of bribery. But even Pottinger admitted the utility of panchayats in disputes of castes, watans, points of religion and marriages.[27]

Elphinstone wanted to go much further than this. In his report on the "Territories conquered from the Peshwa," which he submitted as Commissioner - in it he very clearly stated that 'the panchayat should be our principal instrument of justice.' And he laid down certain rules for the jurisdiction of different types of panchayats:" Those assembled by village headmen were allowed to try suits up to a maximum value of Rs.150, those assembled by Mamlatdars or Amins up to one of Rs.1,000. Appeals from village panchayats could be made to the Collector, not the Mamlatdar, and he alone had the authority to summon another panchayat only if the Collector thought that the original one had not been freely chosen, or that it had not fully decided, or if on a summary inquiry he found gross error or injustice or if he suspected corruption."[28]

On becoming the Governor of Bombay, though he was pre-occupied with greater administrative work, as now the entire Presidency was put under his charge, he still continued to take a personal interest in the working and the progress of the Panchayats in Maharashtra.

Letters written after 1820 by the Collectors reveal that they did not see such a bright future for the Panchayats as they had expected two years ago. Slowly problem after problem began to creep in and the Collectors found it difficult to attend to them.

From the very beginning it has been noticed that the Panchayats were ~~furiing~~ fairing well only in Dharwar and Khandesh. In Khandesh the number of suits was decided by all instruments (i.e. by Collectors court, Mamlatdars and panchayats) and was remarkably small. In Pune Mamlatdars and subordinate Judges (Amins) were the chief instruments. (It was only in Pune that subordinate judges had been appointed; by 1821 there were five of them altogether, and no doubt they did much more work than the Mamlatdars.). In Ahmednagar the Collectors Court was the chief instrument of justice. It has already been previously shown how Elphinstone had been annoyed with this attitude of Pottinger who continued with his stand and Elphinstone on his part continued to rebuke him.

Elphinstone felt all the more insulted and hurt when his most confidential friend Strachey too had expressed the same opinion as Pottinger regarding the functioning of Panchayats. He immediately replied to Strachey explaining the reasons since both of them (i.e. Pottinger and Strachey) did not like the panchayats. He wrote : "I think both you and Sir Henry Pottinger lay too much stress on the errors of Punchayets arising from their superstitions and their religion; before you pronounce those who condemn witches or killers of bullocks to be incapable of judging, you should remember that our judges and juries have often punished for witchcraft to that Sadoo if he had doubted the Trinity would a very few years ago have met with as little toleration from an English Court as he is supposed to have done in your answer. Yet were those courts very competent to try all other causes. You need not be afraid of my getting attached to the doctrines of Madras Collectors."[29]

Chaplin who had succeeded Elphinstone as Commissioner explained that the Collectors did not have enough time, for their judicial work, and even pointed out that effective supervision was 'the main - spring of punchayets', and they needed, 'the individual attention of one person.'[30] He therefore recommended in 1821 that a Register should be appointed under each of the Collectors in Maharashtra, 'to watch and regulate the proceedings of punchayets.'[31]

In February 1822 Registers were therefore appointed to serve under all the Collectors, where the judicial business was very small. They were instructed to try to settle all suits by panchayet. Every plaintiff asking for justice had to prove either that he had been before a panchayat which had been guilty of corruption or pariality or gross injustice, or that he himself was willing for a panchayet and that the defendant had refused one.[32]

Though Elphinstone did all that was within his power to modify the Panchayats, yet it did not show good results, Membership continued to be the main problem. Most of the people who were able and honest did not want to serve - while there were others who were only waiting to make a profession of it. But many of them did not have the time. At times even when members were found for a panchayat, they did not bother to be regular and this caused delay in work. A suggestion was made that a list of eligible people should be prepared. But this was objected to by Elphinstone, who argued that it would, 'destroy all the interest which may at present be felt by the members of a panchayat.' Another suggestion was that the members should be paid - but again this idea too was opposed by Elphinstone. To this idea he remarked that 'payment could really degrade that character of a panchayat, by rendering it a business of hire, and it might make panchayats as expensive to suitors as a regular system of Law Courts. The idea was therefore abandoned.'[33]

Elphinstone felt all the more frustrated when his friend, Strachey who had now been appointed on the Judicial Department in India House - attacked the Judicial part of his report and Elphinstone put forth his reasons : "I kept up puncheyets because I found them. I did what I could to improve them, and I pointed out the remedy to adopt if they should ultimately prove unsuccessful. I still think that the Puncheyets should on no account be dropped...."[34]

Elphinstone thus made another effort to preserve the Panchayats, though he himself admitted that : "The punchayets were peculiarly difficult for a European to supervise, as the want of regularity in the proceedings of punchayets makes them difficult to revise. Their decisions being founded on traditional maxims are not easily understood by a foreigner."[35] Therefore he suggested that as Panchayats alone were not enough, subordinate judges, (Munsiffs) should be appointed to speed up the work just as the subordinate judges (Amins) were doing useful work in Pune; both deciding suits themselves and also supervising the proceedings of panchayats. He asked his Collectors to appoint Munsiffs, 'from mainly the resident inhabitants of the district'; plus he even provided them with an incentive to speed up work, by allowing them in addition to a basic salary of Rs.100 a month half an anna in the rupee on the amount of each suit which they tried, or referred to a panchayat.[36]

Harry Borradaile the young Register of Pune had already suggested in a memorandum that the jurisdiction of panchayats should be limited to certain types of suits. This proposal was accepted by Elphinstone. Accordingly a list was drawn up of matters suitable for panchayats, and it was decided that a Munsiff was not to try suits concerning any of these matters unless both parties voluntarily agreed in writing to accept his jurisdiction. The Mamlatdars were empowered to summon panchayats to decide such matters. On the other hand, they could only summon panchayats to try suits for debt or personal property (not above Rs.200) if both parties agreed in writing to accept the decision of a panchayat. In these matters, the onus of asking for a panchayat was upon the parties concerned.[37]

Rules were also laid down to expedite the proceedings of such panchayats as were held. To discourage frivolous suits the Collector was empowered at his discretion to fine the loser up to 10 per cent of the amount contested. If a panchayat failed to decide a Suit within three months it might be dismissed and the case tried by the Collector or referred by him to a Munsiff. It a panchayat took longer than two months to decide, its members might be made to sit in the office of Munsiff or Mamlatdars.[38] Elphinstone considered that these were the little changes necessary to enable the traditional system to work effectively.

In 1823 Elphinstone paid a visit to the Deccan and was disillusioned with the functioning of the Panchayats. On his return he reported : "The Panchayet on which so much depends under the native system has shown all the inconveniences ascribed to it in my report of 1819 while the remedies applied to them have been less efficacious than was then expected...." He further sta~~r~~ted that, "The Punchayets failed to function properly in all the Collectorates except Khandesh because of the extraordinary zeal of the Collector (Briggs)."[39] He, therefore, requested the Government that as the Panchayats were faring well in Khandesh they should be allowed to continue, while for the other three Collectorates he had suggested a new plan with some alternations.[40]

Thus, with the aim of making the Panchayats more popular with suitors and members alike, Elphinstone suggested to Chaplin that,'appeals be allowed from Punchayats the same as from other tribunals, no member being liable to be called on for any explanation of his opinion or to be summoned as evidence to what passes in the Punchayat, more than a Zilleh Judge is on an appeal from his decision. I think suitors would more readily take to Punchayats if not thereby deprived of power of appeal and on the other hand members would be less averse to sit on Panchayats when it ceased to be the interest of either party to accuse them of gross error or corruption.[41]

But Chaplin, disagreed with this view. He was of the opinion that this would bring panchayats into disrepute, for their decisions were generally considered as too sacred to be set aside. But Chaplin agreed with that part of the proposal that, 'appeal should be allowed from panchayats held in large towns as freely as from subordinate judges, without the necessity of a complaint of gross error or corruption.'[42]

In 1826 Elphinstone wrote to his friend Strachey informing him that according to his new plans for the Deccan judicial system : "The Punchayets are almost gone and the principle is trial in the first instance by tolerably well paid natives with Europeans to superintend and hear appeals."[43]

In short, it can be said that Elphinstone superimposed upon the Panchayats a structure of Zillah Court for dispensing justice. But he still thought that they had a useful part to play and the new Code of Regulations published in 1827, made special provision for them. It limited the jurisdiction of the Panchayats to the following points only :

(1) Points of religion
(2) Customs of the country and caste rules
(3) Division of property
(4) Old and intricate accounts
(5) Cases of Watan and Huks and
(6) Disputes for maintenance.[44]

"Code de Elphinstone"
(Bombay Regulation of 1827)

Throughout the 18th and the beginning of the 19th Century under the Company's Government, justice not only in Maharashtra but all over India was administered in an atrocious and most imperfect manner. The Hindus had no clear code of laws which was generally recognised throughout the country. Mountstuart Elphinstone observed that the judicial written law of the Hindus was vague and unknown to the bulk of the people, often absurd and unused. The unwritten law was the product of the beliefs, customs and traditions of the people, highly superstitous and narrow in their outlook with a very limited degree of enlightenment, modified at times by Hindu law and Hindu opinions and constantly under the influence of the Prince who constituted the source of all Law, by weight of his rank and wealth.[45] Thus the whole body of law was beyond the knowledge of the most learned pandits, and every part of it was unknown to the people. All the Shastrees in their reference pointed different punishments for the same offence at different Adalats in different Districts. This chaotic aspect was the result of various Hindu Law Authorities which they referred to like Manu, Yajnavalkya, Narad, etc. Many times verdicts pronounced by these Hindu Shastrees on referred law points were given consideration because of the prevalent Legal Customs and Usages like Sati, slavery, child marriage, etc.

Elphinstone felt the urgency of the situation and the imperative need for reform. He thought that this tension in the field of justice could be minimised by the introduction of a general code which would apply to all castes. A beginning in this direction had to be made no matter how long and tedious the completion would take. He was aware of the fact that this could involve the wiping away of the existing pattern, a pattern which was deep rooted in the minds of the people. He held that the situation would perhaps be eased if the law codes he contemplated did not attempt a complete overhaul of the present system, and he was very cautious of 'how they made a code for a nation'. Elphinstone pointed out that instead of introducing innovations it would be better to give proper weight to the usages of the various communities, adding refinement to them. His project aimed at the reduction of the entire mass of scattered Hindu laws and customs to an intelligible form which would serve as the foundation of justice not only for the Hindus but for the entire population of the Presidency.[46]

For practical purposes, however, till the Law Code was established, the Kazi was the authority relating to the Muslim community, and the Bhat for the Hindus. Elphinstone's instructions gave considerable discretion to the Collectors in all judicial matters. Their power was however limited only by the provision that every sentence of death had to be referred to the Deccan Commissioner for confirmation before it was carried out. Judicial power was also vested in the revenue officers, and it varied with their rank - from the patil, who could only put a man for a few days in the village lock-up to the more important mamlatdars, who had the power of life and death.[47]

Elphinstone's view regarding the judiciary were influenced by utilitarian writers, Bentham and Mill. Mill wrote six substantial books on the History of British India to propagate the doctrine of his friend and master

Jeremy Bentham; besides this he even sought the advice of his friends, Strachey, Munro, Samuel Davis, etc.

Elphinstone was reading a great deal of Utilitarian philosophy. In fact, the Home Government desired that he should follow a policy based on Utilitarian principles. Regarding Bentham he wrote to Strachey, "I was greatly delighted, with your account of Jeremy Bentham, I had a great curiousity about him which was fully gratified. He is certainly a man of first rate talents, but also of first rate eccentricity, which, both in his doctrines and his personal habits, probably arises from his little intercourse with the world."[48] His aim was wider, as we have noted, and embraced the grand scheme of Bentham of forming a complete code. He further remarked though : "I greatly admire what I have read of Bentham...."[49] and leaned heavily on what the philosopher had to say; to this he argued,"if they had to use Bentham's principles in codifying Hindu Law, then it would require a dozen Jeremy Benthams, and as many Henry Stracheys, if they wanted to have the British system of rules and regulations."[49a]

Indeed, he was far from being a Benthamite in his general determination to maintain Maratha institutions and ways of government. He was in fact torn between two worlds. He himself realised quite clearly the nature of this tension : "Let me tell you", he wrote to Malcolm, "you are well off in having nothing to do but war and politics and that you will not know what difficulty is till you come to manage revenues and Adawluts, and to reconcile efficiency with economy, and Maratha Maamool (custom) with Jeremy Bentham."[50] But to Elphinstone moderation was the golden mean. So Benthamising too much was not after his taste. But he did believe like the utilitarian philosophers in the perfectibility of man. This doctrine has been already discussed earlier. Elphinstone agreed with Mill's view who judged the merits of the legal system by the Utilitarian consideration of "completeness and exactness". To be exact law must be free of vagueness and redundancy so that its application would be certain. Besides this he had also stated that good laws and light taxation were part of India's needs.[51]

The Home Government had directed Elphinstone to follow the British system of law courts. Elphinstone was against it and replied that "It is not enough to give good laws, or even good courts, you should take the people along with you and give them a share in your feelings which can only be done by sharing theirs."[52]

Elphinstone brought to the notice of the Government that it was impossible to introduce the Bengal type of Judiciary in Maharashtra. One of the common criticisms of the Cornwallis judicial system was that it brought all the men down to one level before the law courts. He even pointed out that the separation of power had done more harm than good in Bengal and it had acquired a deservedly bad reputation : "It applied alien principles of law and procedure which no native understood, it was dilatory by force of circumstance, it was incorruptible above but it certainly could not be preserved from corruption below."[53] Elphinstone thought it a curse to the natives. 'I should dread to see judges and chupreesis (their tip staffs) almost as much as missionaries.'[54] He knew no stronger comparison. He often used to repeat a story which Colebrooke heard. During one of Lake's campaigns someone met a group of inhabitants in flight. 'Is Lord Lake coming?' they were asked. 'No', they answered, 'the Adawlut is coming, which is ten times worse.'[55] Elphinstone was determined that this should not happen in the Deccan. He liked Munro's efforts to make use of Indian institutions and methods in the administration of justice. 'A statesman', wrote Munro, 'had to begin by appreciating the people and understanding their wants'. He could not begin by praising everything British and depreciating everything Indian. A stateman had to preserve those ancient institutions understood and favoured by the people; he had to trust Indians as officials in a variety of posts now held by Britons, otherwise Indians would feel unwanted and debased. He had to stimulate local pride and public spirit by utilizing Indian institutions and employing Indians as officials; finally, he had to show a liberal and sympathetic interest in the people. If these things were done, Munro saw the possibility of introducing even British laws, British integrity in administration, and British institutions.[56]

Elphinstone fully concurred with these ideas of Munro.

Elphinstone's work of Codification:

A Regulation Committee was appointed by Elphinstone the Governor in Council, with Babington as its President, Mr. Steele as its secretary, and Erskine, Norris, and others as its members.[57]

An attempt for the codification of law had previously been started by Elphinstone's predecessor in Gujerat, but the work had hardly begun when the latter retired. As experimental work regarding the settlement of the Revenue was going on in the Deccan - he felt that it would not be wise to tax his Collectors and people with the judicial work also. Therefore he decided that the Collectors of Gujerat should assist the members of the Regulation Committee in collecting data. But at the same time he did not want to ignore the opinion of the Collectors of the Deccan. Therefore he constantly kept in touch with Chaplin the Commissioner from whom he obtained information regarding their decisions, and he also sought Cahplin's advice on many matters.

Elphinstone said that the work of the Regulation Committee would be first to examine the Shastrees, heads of castes and all other persons acquainted either with the law, the custom of castes or the public opinion regarding the authorities attached to each. And secondly, to extract from the records of Courts of justice the information obtained on these subjects in the course of judicial investigations. It was desirable to collect all opinions by patient inquiries in cases where the proofs were brought forth by the stimulus of individual interest.[58]

Elphinstone's letter to Strachey reveals that the latter did not approve of Elphinstone's policy of codifying Hindu law, and wanted him to straight away introduce the British system of justice. Elphinstone gave his reasons for using 'code founded on Hindoo Law'. He explained that "even if people were perfectly willing to receive your plan it would bear to be argued whether a new code would answer as well as one founded on the established law.... and it is much better to let what is generally known stay, than to throw everything into confusion for a slight improvement."[59] He further explained : "It was difficult to bribe all the 100,000 Pundits of India; the unbribed ones will soon expose 'your trick'.... but the truth is every Hindoo knows enough of the law to detect your most important innovations... I have lived to see the Roman Law and the English Law go out of fashion, and I should like to be sure that the new one was likely to keep its ground at home before I ran any great risk to introduce it here...."[60]

Mr. Borradaile the young Registrar at Pune was instructed to go immediately to Surat and proceed to any Zilla selected by the Sudder Adalat (Provincial Court). He was to be assisted by the judge of Surat during the investigation, though much depended on his zeal, and it was expected that he should expedite the execution of a task so long and eagerly contemplated. Mr. Borradaile was to report his investigation in every Zilla to the Adalat and Government, to enable them to judge of his progress and the probable result of his plan. He was asked to collect with accuracy the decisions given by Pandits in cases referred to them by theCourts, and the answers given by witness examined, regarding the customs and castes. As Elphinstone was interested in the welfare of the ryots, he, also requested Borradaile to collect information regarding the various tenures by which different classes of land were held, and the rights of the ryots in relation both to the Government and to their immediate superiors in the villages.[61] Similarly Elphinstone had also asked Chaplin to collect information from the Pune Shastrees. Chaplin followed his instructions but could not succeed, for the Pune Shastrees told him that it would take at least one year for them to answer the question asked. Therefore Chaplin made a suggestion, 'to circulate an enlarged and revised set of queries and to offer a high pecuniary reward for the best set of answers, a smaller for the second best, and a smaller one for the third, and so on, for as many grades as might be thought necessary - the answers to be delivered in six months from the date of the proclamation and the rewards to be distributed.'[62] It appears that this idea was not accepted by Elphinstone.

Mr. Steele the secretary of the regulation Committee was also directed to begin his work in Surat, and Mr. Anderson the Collector of Surat who had done much for the improvement of the judicial system, was asked to assist him. Elphinstone instructed that 'the object was not to ascertain the doctrines contained in a particular law book, but the degree of estimation in which it was held by the common people. The opinion of the learned and unlearned was to be mentioned separately. Considering the large number of Mohammedans in the Bombay Presidency. It was necessary to compile a Muslim law. But their code was less liable to variation. Therefore, the same rules that were in force in Bengal would probably answer for all India.'[63] He had also requested the Government of Bengal and Madras to send their collection of decisions or any information collected, calculated to throw light on the traditional and written laws in force among the Hindus.[64]

Elphinstone told Anderson that there were certain difficulties in the accomplishment of their plan. The heads of castes were likely to give opposition : "It probably has not escaped the sagacity of the Heads of the castes that if all the customs of the castes are reduced to writing, and made known both to the Magistrates and the people they must themselves lose much of the consequence, which they are at present possessed of."[65] Since, so far the interpretation of all tradition lay with them, the whole administration of justice was in their hands and it must have been a source of pecuniary profit, as well as of influence and importance. Hence the object of the Government was diametrically opposed to theirs.

Mr. Anderson collected 160 Heads of castes. All went well for some time till a rumour was set afloat that 'the whole was connected with a plan for a duty on salt and a tax on marriages and funerals',[66] wrote Elphinstone to Chaplin. Shops pulled down the shutters and there was a general alarm. But these incidents did not disturb Elphinstone who said that such alarms would follow so long as the Heads of the castes feared to lose their power over the common people. And he confidently said : "Patience, perseverance and good management, however, in the end will prevail."[67]

Elphinstone was unsparing in his efforts to bring about a just and uniform codification of law. In fact, when the work of Codification had started, Elphinstone had paid a visit to Gujerat and stayed there for six or seven months to see personally how the work was progressing.[68] There were not just questions regarding revenue, police, crime, punishment etc., but a number of subjects that had remained untouched. Every draft of the code submitted to him for approval was carefully examined and studied by him, and his remarks and recommendations are given in pencil in the margin. For instance in one such recommendation, he said : "There is no punishment for rape in the code, it is time it is comprehended in the general rule... and likewise in the section regarding violent assaults Sect. XXXI, but the crime is sufficiently atrocious to require a separate provision for its punishment..."[69] Similarly in other drafts too he found omissions and undefined clauses.

The most unfortunate thing which happened when the work of Codification was coming to an end was that Babington the President of the Committee died, and Erskine was sent home as he was guilty of some corrupt practices.[70]

Though Bernard succeeded as President, the major part of the responsibility fell on Elphinstone, as he considered the former an able but eccentric man.[71] When the drafts were submitted they were discussed at length by the members of the Committee. Often their decisions varied, which led to argument. For instance, Charles Norris, a member of the Regulation Committee, argued the case for an independent judiciary based on Whig lines i.e. the British pattern of rule of law. He pointed out to the members of the Committee that since the regulations could be look upon as a compact between the State and its subjects, then it would be politically wrong to give either party to interpret this compact, and least of all the party which had framed it. Norris aimed at establishing a strong Judiciary, for he said that it would be politically inexpedient to deny supremacy to the judiciary. He further argued that it was often necessary to apply regulations in circumstances which antagonised important sections of the community. If in such circumstances the executive could point to the judiciary as the source of its sanctions then it would escape the insulting approbrium which would otherwise have discredited it in the eyes of the public. Norris at the same time also suggested an equally strong executive, as it ensured efficiency in administration. This argument, he observed was devoid of any force whatsoever, since the pronouncements of the courts of law on various questions would yield a body of knowledge which could guide the executive in the application of the regulations. Finally, he said that the executive should be given the authority to pass new regulations according to the need of the time, but the interpretation of these regulations ought to rest with the Sudar Adalat (the Principal Court).[72]

However the arguments put forth by Norris were disputed by Elphinstone and by the other members of the Executive Council of the Bombay Government who had seen the disastrous consequences arising out of the system of administration created by Cornwallis in Bengal. According to G.C. Pendergast, a member of the Executive Council, Norris was guilty of confusion between 'laws' and 'regulations'. He explained that Law and Regulations were two different terms of connotation - Laws dealt with fundamental issues like the ownership of private property, and unless civilised principles of government were to be completely abandoned, the supremacy of the judiciary in such issues was to be unquestioned. The regulations, on the other hand, set out the duties of the courts of law and defined their powers. He pointed out that if the notion of judicial supremacy advanced by Norris was accepted, then in a conflict between a higher and a lower court the latter would sit in judgement over a dispute to which it was a party. The absurdity of such a situation was patent, and it would be a positive contribution to efficiency in administration if the executive was invested with the authority to resolve such disputes. Elphinstone fully concurred with the arguments put forward by Pendergast. "What I would recommend therefore, " he stated, "would be, that the Sudder Adawlut's decisions in the interpretation of the Regulations be final in all cases when the question did not relate to an extent of its authority, but that in such cases, a reference should be made to the government.... "[73]

After much discussion and arguments the Regulation Committee prepared a draft emphasising the necessity of securing an easy and amicable settlement of civil disputes through Panchayats. One of the essential conditions for the working of the panchayats was that both the disputing parties must agree to refer their cases to it. The members of the panchayats were selected after consulting the disputing parties. The village officials like the Patil or Kulkarni were under an obligation to work on the panchayats. The panchayat could give its decision orally or in writing. If the arbitration of the panchayat was referred to a higher court, only the written decision was taken into consideration. This right to appeal was given to the disputing parties with a view to preventing corrupt practices or partisan decisions of the panchayats.[74]

The higher courts were organized on western principles of law and social equity. The Regulation Committee set up for the organization of the judiciary proposed a three tiered system. At the apex there was the Sadar Adalat, below it was the Zillah Adalat or district court, and at the lowest rung of the ladder was the institution of the Native Commissionerhips of Justice.[75]

The influence of Bentham on the organization of the judicial system is clearly evident from the pattern suggested by the Regulation Committee. Bentham had also proposed such a three - tiered system comprising - the parish court, the district court and the provincial court for Britain. The Sadar Adalat consisted of Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Faujdari Adalat which enjoyed supreme powers in civil and criminal judicial matters. Speedily, the Adalat was authorized to appoint puisne judges, who would visit different parts of the country as per requirements and decide the cases on the spot.

The Zillah court had jurisdiction over the entire district. It was divided into two branches to deal with the civil and criminal cases separately. It heard appeals from the sub-ordinate courts, but its main function was to supervise and regulate the work of the lower courts. The

District judge was helped by Assistant judges in discharging his responsibilities.

The Native Commissioners of Justice were appointed by the District Judge. Certain restrictions were put on the jurisdiction of this institution. It could try the cases of natives alone, and it could not try any suits involving an amount exceeding Rs. 500. These Native Commissioners were required to investigate appeals against the decisions of the Panchayats. It was through this institution that the panchayats were integrated with theBritish judicial system. The Native Commissionership was not organised on the same principles as the District Courts. For instance it did not allow pleaders in cases, as was done in the courts. Any person could appear before the Native Commissioners on behalf of the disputing parties. The awards of the Commissioners were based on popular notions of justice and social equity.[76] But it laid down that if cases were to be tried in Sadar Adalat or Zillah Court then the disputants were to be permitted to have their cases represented by lawyers on grounds of convenience, and because of the complexity of legal procedures.[77]

Thus under the supervision and guidance of Elphinstone, the entire Bombay Regulations, customs and usages were framed into a set of utilitarian unified code arranged in a most systematic fashion, comprised 'twenty-seven major regulations', along with various aspects of criminal law, which were operated for a considerable time till their supercession by the Criminal Code.[78] The Code of Regulations became effective from 1st Janury 1827 onwards. It has been regarded as one of the most remarkable achievements of Elphinstone. In fact the Code of Regulations popularly came to be known as the 'Elphinstone Code'.

Elphinstone's achievements in the field of the Judiciary

Under the influence of Elphinstone's Government, several innovations were brought about. Under the king's judges, more specifically, Sir Edward West was the last of the Recorders and the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bombay.[79] We see the dawn of a new age in the administration of justice in Western India. The fundamental principle of the British laws became the corner stone of justice here too, viz. every man was to be considered innocent until he was proved to be guilty, and his cause was to be inquired into and decided upon by twelve persons of his own rank. The longest period that a person was kept in confinement before his case was disposed off by the magistrates, did never exceed a month, in general the detention lasting only for a few days.[80]

Two different types of courts functioned side by side. These were the Company's or Provincial Courts and the King's Courts, and both dealt with the civil and criminal aspect of justice. In civil cases the trial was conducted according to one's customs and laws, whereas in criminal cases it was done according to the Code of 1827. The Panchayat was considered the main instrument of civil judicature. Thus it can be said that Elphinstone's Code reformed the Maratha institutions without initiating any fundamental changes in them. He believed in tradition and continuity and therefore moved very cautiously in altering the existing system. He managed to retain the panchayats as an integral part of the Judiciary inspite of opposition from all sides, and even succeeded in maintaining the status of the aristocratic class. There were to be courts for special classes of landowners and minor rulers, and concessions and arrangements adopted to their dignities and status. If a chief was tried, the trial could be in private; he could give his evidence in absentia or attend through a vakil. If he came, 'any form of courtesy and consideration due to the rank of the accused was to be observed.'[81] Punishment was to be strictly adjusted to the status of the offender - not unreasonably perhaps, when the nature of the punishment could affect his caste or the marriage of his children.[82]

The effect of Elphinstone's Code of Regulations was that it led to the rise of the Lawyers as a 'professional class' in the society. With the introduction of Stamp duty in civil cases, fees for lawyers etc., show how a beginning was made to make Judicial activity a business activity, which was not given much importance during the Maratha period as a means of earning, as the Marathas had followed a cheap and simple system of Judicial procedure. Besides that, it also reveals how the notion of the Crime and

Punishment began to slowly creep into India. The interpretation of Laws was taken away gradually from the hands of the Priestly Class (which was the real motive of Elphinstone) and transferred to the Magistrates and the Judges of the Adalat in Maharashtra.

Notes

1. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 1. Elphinstone to Strachey. 28-7-1819.
2. Colebrooke T.E. Life of The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone Vol. II, London, 1884, p.116.
3. D.C. File Vol. 402, Camp at Goongalla. Elphinstone to The Collectors. 10-7-1818.
4. Gune V.T. 'The Judicial System of the Marathas' p.31.
5. Itihas Samgraha Book 7. Issues 4-6. p.15. Shahu died in 1749. He left two notes in his ~~own~~ autograph, by which he authorised the Peshwa to administer the state in consultation with the Rajamandal.
6. Gune V.T. The Judicial System of the Marathas, pp. 45-48.
7. Ibid, p.
8. Forrest J.W. Selections from the minutes and other official Wantings of The Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone - Elphinstone's Report, 1819. p.336.
9. Ibid, p.339.
10. Ballhatchet, K, Social Policy and Social Change in Western India 1817-1830, London, 1857. p.109.
11. D.C. File Vol. 402. Elphinstone to Collectors, 10-7-1818.
12. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.107.

13. D.C. File Vol. 402. Elphinstone to his Collectors. 2-4-1818.
14. D.C. File Vol. 124 No. 28. Pottinger to Elphinstone. 1-5-1818.
15. D.C. File Vol. 402. Elphinstone to Pottinger. 2-4-1818.
16. D.C. File Vol. 89, Lumsden to Robertson, 18-5-1819.
17. D.C. File Vol. 89. Robertson to Elphinstone. 28-7-1818.
18. Ballhatchet K. op.cit. p.108.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. D.C. File Vol. 95 No. 374. Robertson to Elphinstone, Poona, 4-12-1818.
22. Ibid.
23. MSS EUR F88 BOX6B. Grant to Elphinstone. 8-9-1818.
24. MSS EUR F88 BOX6B. Elphinstone to Grant. 10-9-1818.
25. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.109.
26. Ibid. p.113.
27. Ibid.
28. Elphinstone to Collectors. 25-10-1819. (issued by Chaplin 27-6-1820) quoted in Choksey R.D. Aftermath pp.332-333.
29. MSS EUR F128BOX7 No. 18. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay. 22-11-1821.
30. Ballhatchet K., op.cit. p.193.
31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid. p.195.

34. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 17. Elphinstone to Strachey, Camp Sookelteerut, 21-4-1821.

35. MSS EUR F88 BOX 15 G. Minute on the Deccan, 14-1-1823.

36. Ballhatchet K., op.cit. p.196.

37. Ibid, pp. 196-197.

38. Ibid, p.197.

39. MSS EUR F88 BOX 15 G. Minutes on the Deccan, 14-1-1823.

40. Ibid.

41. Elphinstone to Chaplin, 29-9-1825 quoted by Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.198.

42. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.199.

43. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 29. Elphinstone to Strachey Salpa, 16-11-1826.

44. Bombay Archives : Judicial Dept., Vol. IX of 1823, pp.265-266.

45. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 16. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay, 3-9-1820.

46. Ibid.

47. Cotton J.S. Rulers of India, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Oxford, 1892, p.142.

48. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 16. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay, 3-9-1820.

49. Ibid.

49a. Ibid, Elphinstone to Strachey, Poona, 28-7-1819.

50. Elphinstone to Malcolm, 27-1-1819, quoted by Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.36.

51. Bearce, G.D. British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858, Oxford, 1961, pp.72 & 76.

52. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 17. Elphinstone to Strachey, Camp Sookelteerut, 21-4-1821.

53. Ibid.

54. Elphinstone to Adam, 11-6-1818, quoted by Ballhatchet, K. p.105.

55. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 19. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay, 11-3-1822.

56. Bearce, G.D., op.cit. p.134.

57. Judicial Department Vol. of 1822.

58. Ibid.

59. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 23, Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay, 21-7-1823.

60. Ibid, refer to Appendix No. 1.

61. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone. The Indian Years 1796-1827, Bombay 1971, pp.423-424.

62. Chaplin Letters : Vol. II, 1822-1823. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6C, Chaplin to Elphinstone, Camp Wurkee, 4-2-1824.

63. Choksey R.D. op.cit. pp.242-425.

64. Ibid, p.425.

65. Ibid, p. 425.

66. Ibid, p.426.

67. Ibid.

68. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 18. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay, 22-11-1821.

69. Choksey, R.D. op.cit. p.427.

70. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 24. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay, 17-1-1824.

71. Ibid.

72. Judicial Department, Vol. 42/51 - 1823. Memorandum by C. Norris dated nil.

73. Ibid. Memorandum by G.C. Pendergast, 9-3-1823.

74. Ibid. Vol. 48 of 1822. Draft of Regulation concerning Panchayats, 16-8-1821.

75. Judicial Dept. Vol. 48 of 1822. This file gives a detail account of each and every draft of Regulation concerning the Judiciary; their clauses along with the appendix.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Cotton J.S. op.cit. p.181.

79. Drewitt, F.D. Bombay in the days of George IV, Memoirs of Sir Edward West, Longmans, Green and Co. 39 Paternoster Row, London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta, 1907. p.54.

80. General Department, Vol. of 1826. p.129.

81. Lord Radcliffe of Werneth, 'Mountstuart Elphinstone'. The Romanes Lecture delivered in the Examination School, 25th May 1962, Oxford. p.26.

82. Ibid.

Appendix No. 1.

MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 23 -

Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay - July 12, 1823.

My dear Strachey,

I wrote you lately and have received two letters from you of November 1st and July 2nd. In the first of these you object to a code founded on Hinddo Law. My answer is what would you have instead? Would you go on with Hindoo Law without a Code at the mercy of your shastrees and witnesses (for in many cases you are obliged to examine evidence to ascertain the law)? or would you sit down and make a code entirely out of your own head and introduce it by an order of Government? You certainly will not take the first of these plans and as to the second I think even if the people were perfectly willing to receive your plan, it would answer as well as one founded on the established law of vast number of things one in themselves almost indifferent so as they are fixed, and it is much better to let what is generally known to be sure that the new one was likely to keep its ground at home before I ran any great risk to introduce it here. You say you hardly knew what I mean by "Hindoo Laws practically and generally recognized." I will give you an example both of such laws and of my proposed mode of dealing with them. The law of succession as laid down in Colebrooke's translation is required everywhere and the difficulties and contradictious involved in it are equally general and would admit the law but instead of quoting 50 texts I would put in one clear sentence. To go into particular. All authorities agree that sons are entitled to equal shares of their father's property. All likewise agree that if their sons do not divide their inheritance they continue coparceners and all the gains of each individual go to the common stock; but they disagree about what is a proof of division : the rational few say that if a son leaves enough of the common stock to maintain him till he finds employment and afterwards in the course of years amasses a fortune, it shall be considered as his own. The majority say that if he takes a part of shows from the common stock along with him, the whole of his property belongs to their fraternity. In such a case I would condense the texts in favour of equality of inheritance into one line and those regarding coparcening into another; but in the disputed point, I would, encourage my own judgement and declare that a man who drew no more than his own share from the common stock should not be obliged to account for his profits unless he entered into a former agreement to that effect with his brothers. With respect to your idea of our Revenue Regulations, the drafts sent in by the Committee completely tie up the collectors hands so much so that I am afraid it will be found impracticable to adopt them to their full extent. The great object is to prevent arbitrary increase of assessment and how to do this in new countries where the resources are not known is the difficulty; even in very old ones it is still difficult because surveys get obsolete and assessments founded on them if adhered to become exceedingly unequal. You have very little to boast of in Bengal on this trend, you fixed the assessment on the zemindar and made all the world ring with your liberality and wisdom; but you declared that the zemindars' assessment on the ryot was to be regulated by custom and you left it to the courts of justice to ascertain what the courts of justice to ascertain what the custom was leaving millions of Ryots liable to ejectment and ruin with the remedy of obtaining damages, provided they could prove in court that the zemindar had demanded more than was authorised by custom, all this in spite of your letter of July 2nd. But I have written enough about Codes and god knows and yet I enclose my last minute on the subject as to the criminal Code. The practice of Hindoo Princes themselves authorizes the making one entirely to our own taste.

Yours sincerely,

Mountstuart Elphinstone.

CHAPTER VIII

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF ELPHINSTONE

Mountstuart Elphinstone in his Report of 1819 on "The Territories Conquered from the Peshwa," had always shown respect for the Maratha Constitution. But circumstances impelled him to propose and introduce changes into the structure of Maratha Society. As Commissioner, as has been explained in Chapter V of the present work, his main task was the preservation of Maratha society. Conciliation was the focus of his attention. Once the people were conciliated by policies then a further step towards reforms and improvement of the social aspects of the people could be made. Elphinstone sought to understand the Maratha people in the perspective of their future development, and this concern urged him to suggest those reforms that might be in accord with his vision of India's future. Now as Governor he had the reins wholly in his hands and he wanted to bring about the cautious introduction of Western ideas and institutions provided they were acceptable to the people. Elphinstone was of the opinion that the choice and timing of Westernization lay with the people themselves. The Government, on the one hand had to provide the opportunity for the exercise of self-government and social responsibility; and on the other hand it had to utilize the opportunities before any improvements could succeed.

An attempt, therefore has been made in the present chapter to show Elphinstone's interest in the spread of education and the establishment of various educational institutions, his contributions to the Literary Society of Bombay, his love for History, his views on religion and his efforts to do away with some of the existing social evils such as slavery, sati, child marriage, etc.

Elphinstone's views on the introduction of Christianity

Elphinstone as a typical British thinker of the time strongly favoured the introduction of Christian ethics and morals to Hindu people and the replacement of their beliefs and dogmas by the former.[1] Like Mill and other British reformists Elphinstone, too, strongly criticized Hindu religion which he believed was characterized by superstition and priestly despotism of the Brahmin class. He did not like some of the religious customs and was horrified at temple prostitution, sati and idolatry. He felt that the root of all this was the conception of God in Indian religion.[2] Elphinstone's opinion of the religion of the Hindus was not favourable and he considered it, as he wrote to Captain Irvine, "to be the one great cause of the people of this country being so far behind Europeans in laws and morals .... I am likewise persuaded that the Natives must gradually become enlightened and that their religion must fail unless an injudicious spirit of opposition to it should inspire it with new life..."[3] Still, Elphinstone did not approve of the excessive zeal of the

Christian missionaries and of interference in Indian religious practices. Such interference he felt would prevent Western enlightment from growing in India. Elphinstone agreed with Mill's view on religion, which ought to be just and rational, based on reason and revelation. However, like Bishop Heber, he too felt compassion towards the Hindus. Hence he wanted to introduce Christianity without being a fanatic.[4] Like Bishop Heber Elphinstone also realised the risk of quick conversions; he favoured a gradual education of the Hindu people to the errors in their own religious thinking.[5] Therefore he claimed that Christianity would come through education, if at all it comes, and it would succeed only with humility and love not with distrust and antagonism.

The purpose of the promotion of education

Elphinstone showed great concern for fostering education among the natives of all sections. But his writings reveal that the spread of western education among the natives also related to a political expediency. In his Minute on Education he wrote : "The dangers to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the natives, and the slippery foundation of our Government, owing to the total separation between us and our subjects, require the adoption of some measure to counteract them, and the only one is, to remove their prejudices and to communicate our own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education."[6] In this connexion, it would be interesting to note a dialogue between Briggs and Elphinstone. When a dialogue between Briggs and Elphinstone. When Briggs saw a pile of printed Marathi books in his tent one day he asked him what they were meant for. "To educate the natives", said he, "but it is our highroad back to Europe." Briggs commented, 'I wonder you, as Governor of Bombay, have set it on foot', but Elphinstone 'answered coolly, "we are bound under all circumstances to do our duty to them."[6A]

However, Elphinstone's concern for spreading education among the conquered people was a part of his larger concern for creating an extended base for the British rule. The expanding administrative machinery needed a large number of administrators of various cadres to carry out the routine work. Once their authority was fully established, Elphinstone knew it would be difficult to get Europeans for all the posts, especially clerical ones; besides that, he also realised that Indian labour would be cheap. Thus all his plans and projects stemmed from his desire to lay a deeper and more enduring base for the preservation of British privileges in India. In his Minute on Education he categorically advised the strict exclusion of any programme in which either religion or any other topic likely to excite discontent among the natives should ever be touched upon.[7]

About the Missionary work among the lower classes Elphinstone wrote : "It is observed that the missionaries find the lowest castes the best pupils. But we must be

सरकार ग्रंथालय पुणे विभाग ३

careful how we offer any special encouragement to men of that description. They are not only the most despised, but among the least numerous of the great divisions of society and it is to be feared that if our system of education first took root among them, it would never spread further, and that we might find ourselves at the head of a new class superior to the rest in useful knowledge but hated and despised by the castes to whom these new attainments would always induce us to prefer them. Such a state of things would be desirable, if we were contended to rest our power on our army or on the attachment of a part of the population, but is inconsistent with every attempt, to found it on a more extended basis."[8]

Elphinstone's insistence in excluding Christian Missionaries from Maharashtra also stemmed from his fear of popular resentment against religious interference. As Elphinstone had no high opinion about the Maratha Brahmins, he was uncharitable to them to the extent of calling them narrow minded, bigoted and a lying race. However, grudgingly he admitted the Brahmin influence over Maratha public opinion and therefore he was eager to conciliate the Maratha Brahmins who had lost most by the new political change. Elphinstone's anxiety to conciliate the Maratha Brahmins is revealed in his resolve to continue the State patronage to the Brahmins through the distribution of dakshina, which was now reduced from Rs.500,000 to Rs. 200,000. The dakshina, Elphinstone argues, could be exploited to weaken the attachment of the Brahmins to their traditional values, and to encourage them to take an interest in the arts and the science of the West. After British rule over Maharashtra was firmly established, Elphinstone pointed out, "the dakshina might still be kept, but most of the prizes, instead of being conferred on proficients in Hindu divinity, might be allotted to those more skilled in more useful branches of learning - law, mathematics, etc., and a certain number of professors might be appointed to teach these sciences."[9] Therefore, in short, it can be said - Elphinstone's decision to found the Sanskrit College at Pune also reflected the same anxiety to enlist the support of the Brahmins for the consolidation of the new regime.

Elphinstone adopted the above policy to exploit the talent of the Brahmins, whereas he was also sincerely interested in the welfare of the peasantry class, as he wrote in 1823, 'his aim was not only to provide clerks for offices, but to diffuse knowledge among all orders of the people of this country.'[10] Elphinstone insisted on the education of the peasants because under a ryotwari system which happened to exist in Maharashtra, each peasant was given a patta (revenue certificate) in which were laid down the terms of contract with the Government. So Elphinstone felt that if the peasants could at least learn to read and write, they could know how much they had to pay to the Government and the moneylenders would no longer be able to cheat them.[11]

Elphinstone was thus concerned with the education both of the learned classes and also of the peasantry. He also believed that education would also help to remove prejudices against the British.

Elphinstone's Plan of Education

Elphinstone favoured an active participation of the Government in the promotion of education. He said that the Government should keep aside a certain amount of its revenue for the promotion of education. The actual measures that he proposed to follow for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives were :

(1) "to improve the mode of teaching at the native schools and to increase the number of schools;

(2) to supply them with school books,

(3) to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them,

(4) to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and to bring about an improvement in the higher branches of education,

(5) to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical sciences in the native languages,

(6) to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a

classical language and as a means of acquiring
a knowledge of the European discoveries,

(7) to hold forth encouragement to the natives in
the pursuit of these last branches of knowledge."[12]

Elphinstone took the decision to impart education in the vernacular languages (Marathi and Gujarati) which was the language of the local people, and not in Sanskrit which till then was followed and known only by the Brahmins. It appears that Elphinstone framed his education policy not only in consultation with his Council but also sought the advice of eminent natives who were men of talent and culture, among whom was one Jagannath Shankar Shet a business man of Bombay, who extended his patronage to all the newly growing cultural and literary institutions of Bombay.[13]

Elphinstone was aware of the fact that they would have to face a number of difficulties such as finance, books and trained teachers. Regarding the finance it was felt that the burden should be borne partly by Government and partly by raising funds. But the major problem was to get standard books within the reach of the natives. Therefore he ordered the printing of the available works and favoured the translation of the Western books into the vernacular.

Vans Kennedy who was in charge of the Persian department of theGovernment and one Mr. Wathen were entrusted with the task of translating books. Both of them were well acquainted with Oriental literature, and were considered masters of Marathi, Gujarati and Sanskrit. In fact Vans Kennedy even offered to prepare a dictionary both in Marathi and Gujarati.[14]

Elphinstone was very keen on printing books in Gujarati and Marathi. This task of printing books was entrusted to Mr. J. Taylor and Mr. Woodhouse. The difficulties encountered in this matter were explained by Taylor to Elphinstone : "I recollect having had a good deal of conversation about printing selections from Mahratta and Guzarattee books, and I mentioned that Mr. Woodhouse had ordered or was going to order a faunt of Devinagari types from England in consequence of my having sometime before recommended to Government that the thing should be printed in that character. I am not aware however of your having made any arrangement with Mr. Woodhouse on the subject. The types which have arrived are those which I recommended. They are called Balbodhe or Devinagaree which is the character in which almost all Mahratta books are written, and is the one which I am decidedly of the opinion ought to be used for printing Mahratta. The type at present in use is the Morhi (Modi) which is the character universally used in Mahratta business and is of a running nature somewhat like our writing. It is admirably fitted for business, but is by no means so neat and intelligible as the firm square Devinagari, which is the reason, that I so decidedly prefer the latter for printing. - Babington was at first adverse to my opinion, but he soon afterwards became converted and I believe that sometime before he left Tannah, he used to have printed forms of certain papers thrown off in Devinagari at the American Mission Press and I understand that Merriott has adopted the same plan." He further pointed out that, "In beginning to print Mahratta selections great care, I think should be observed and I consider it absolutely necessary that a European should read the proof sheets."

"The Guzeratte type is sufficiently intelligible - the complaint was against the Mahratta type at present in use."

"Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to have it in my favour to engage in the liberal and politic plans you have in contemplation."[15] This proposal of printing books in "Devinagari Script" was accepted by the Government.

Establishment of the Hindu (Sanskrit) College at Pune

When Elphinstone was Commissioner he had contemplated the establishment of Colleges at Nasik and Wai. But then subsequently gave up the idea in favour of a more systematic distribution of Dakshina to learned Brahmins, as previously stated. But before leaving Pune he suggested that it could be used for 'more useful branches of learning.'[16]

Chaplin decided to put this suggestion into practice. Accordingly be submitted to the Government a plan for a

College at Pune. In order to make it popular with the Hindus he, 'proposed the appointment of teachers in almost all the branches of learning,' although, he added, 'many of them are perhaps worse than useless.'[17] For the same reason he avoided all provision of 'European science'. Chaplin suggested that as the Shastras were of greater importance they should be given priority to the Vedas. Chaplin also proposed that the annual examination should be held at the time of the Dakshina and that the preference in awarding Dakshina prizes should be given to the students of the College. He also pointed out that they should encourage the learning of law, mathematics, and medicine, besides that of the Shastras and Vedas by instituting larger prizes. In addition, the Government should grant Rs. 5 a month each to 100 students, 'children of poor, respected and learned men.' The staff was to consist of a Principal and eighteen teachers.[18]

Simulteneously at the command of the Court of Directors, the Bombay Government, too, was thinking of finding a way to train junior civil servants for revenue work in the vernacular languages. A committee was set up to examine the matter and it suggested the establishment of a College at Bombay. However, this proposal was suspended and referred to the Court of Directors by the two civil members of Elphinstone's Council, but after much heated discussions, Chaplin's plan of starting a College at Pune was accepted.

Chaplin opened the new Pune Hindu College on 6th October 1821. 'All the principal inhabitants', he reported, attended the ceremony. He made a speech explaining the aims of the Government in founding the college, and presented honorary dresses to the Professors. He had revised his original scheme, and it was now announced that only Brahmins between 10 and 18 years of age would be scholars, that the annual examinations to be held in the presence of government officers would not include any parts of the Vedas or Shastras which Hindus might consider particularly sacred, and that 70 of the scholarships awarded would be for students of the Shastras, the remaining 30 for students of the Vedas.[19]

Raghu Acharya Tamnoji, a very learned Shastri was appointed as Mukhya Shastri or Principal of the College. He was to exercise control over both the students and the teachers and all of them were to give him implicit obedience and respect. Admissions were strictly in the hands of Raghu Acharya. He was to conduct their examination and maintain, "a strict discipline and constant surveillance over the whole establishment."[20] His monthly pay was Rs.100. Besides him, there were six other Pandits who were paid Rs.60 each, and two teachers receiving a salary of Rs.41 each. They were instructed to teach Shastras, Vedas, Nyaya (logic and law) Jyotish (astronomy and mathematics) Vedant (philosophy and divinity) and Ayurvedic (medicine). One Mohammedan and eight assistant teachers completed the staff. The total expenses annually for maintaining the above staff and 100 scholars at Rs.5 each came to Rs.14,840.[21]

Chaplin, visited the College in 1822, informed the Government that he had then 'invited a few of the principal Sirdars and Shastrees to Poona to witness, the exhibition of the scholar',[22] and that they 'appeared to be much gratified with what they saw'. Chaplin expressed great satisfaction over the activities of the college and felt that the college was fulfiling its task in conciliating the upper classes.

However, in 1823 the Court of Directors replied with a cold rebuke to the Bombay Government for having set up the Pune College. They stated that the Pune College had committed the same mistake as the Benares Hindu College and the Calcutta Madrasa, who had aimed at imparting Hindu learning and Mohammedan learning but not 'useful learning' - and the Pune College they pointed out had gone a step further : "As you have not only established the Hindu College but laid down the plan of instructions wherein we see nothing to which we can attach almost any expectation of utility, it only remains for us to recommend attention to that principle in any alterations you may introduce and the speedy accomplishment of all such alterations tending to increase the usefulness of the institution as it may not be inexpedient to 'undertake'."[23] In short, the Court of Directors disapproved both the content of the education provided in the Pune College and also its purpose or lack of purpose. For they felt that it was not in keeping with the Utilitarian principle of rendering cheap and useful learning, to the greatest number (as the Pune College had restricted admission to Brahmins only). Elphinstone suspected that it was all Mill's doing. Chaplin the creator of the College expressed disappointment and said; "They ought not to disapprove of the Poona College since it costs them nothing, the whole of the expense of it being defrayed out of the Dakshina Funds..."[24]

Elphinstone expressed displeasure at the attitude of the Court of Directors and drew up a lengthy minute in defence of his Educational Policy. He sarcastically wrote to his friend Strachey : "My minute is about as big as the Beej Gunnit. Among other things it contains a defence of the Poona College against the Court of Directors (your friend Mill I fancy) who decry or deny all Hindoo learning and think 14,000 Rupees a year (saved out of the Dukhshna, a stupid piece of alms giving) too much to give for paying 15 or 20 Professors and 100 exhibitiors to students." He further added that if the Home Government wanted British rule to last they had to do something for the people; and also to do something to distinguish 'our occupation of the country from that of the wild beasts to whom Burke has likened us. Tell me if it was Mill that wrote it.'[25]

Strachey confirmed this "In one of your letters about education," he replied, "You ask me whether the attack on the Poona College was written by Mill - It was;- but this I say only generally - no particular passage can be fixed on as his - Drafts of letters are you know altered at the Board of Control and indeed at the India House."[26] The Court of Directors after much heated discussion finally allowed the Pune College to continue, but they firmly rejected the Bombay College plan.[27]

Promoting of further Education

As Elphinstone received no encouragement either from the Home Government or the members of his Executive Council, he decided to help a private organisation, the Bombay Education Society which had taken the initiative to educate the poor European children upon a Christian basis. This Society was founded in 1815 and in 1818 it turned its attention to the education of Indian children and it established three 'native schools'. Their plan was to teach 'both the English and native languages,' as Rev. George Barnes, the Archdeacon of Bombay, explained to Elphinstone; but their main difficulties were 'the want of good English masters, and the almost total deficiency of good native school books.'[28]

In 1820, however, a general meeting of the Education Society was held at St. Thomas' Church which was attended by many influential and rich natives such as Nana Shankershet, Jamsetji and Frameji Cowasaji. A Muslim person

Mohammed Ibrahmin Makha and the merchants of Bombay also attended it. A special committee was formed in order to raise funds for the purpose of education called 'the Native School and School Book Committees', with Elphinstone as its President. The Society decided to raise funds to meet its expenses, Elphinstone himself donating a large sum of money. By 1822 it had collected over Rs.6,000. Both Elphinstone and Archdeacon Barnes were anxious to press forward with the establishment of schools and the training of teachers to conduct them, according to the monitorial system developed by Lancaster and Bell.

But the Archdeacon in a private letter to Elphinstone expressed his doubts about the advisability of continuing the Committee as a part of the Education Society, for he felt that since the objects of the two were different altogether, therefore it would be better to keep the two distincts from each other.[29] Elphinstone thought this 'a very judicious arrangement', and the Committee accordingly became a separate society - the Native School Book and School Society - G. Jervis was appointed its Secretary, with the task of promoting the 'general diffusion of useful knowledge among the Native Inhabitants of India, subject to the Presidency of Bombay.'[30]

Jervis on assuming charge found that it was difficult to run the society due to lack of funds, books and well trained teachers. So Jervis worked out a plan to improve the existing system. He reported to the Government that books must be translated into the vernaculars and be published, the monitorial system introduced, teachers to use it, and the Secretary empowered to superintend the schools where they taught. It was finally suggested that the Government might contribute some money to help pay for these activities.[31]

Jervis was very enthusiastic about the improvements of schools and also made inquiries from the Secretary of the Madras School Book and School Society where a similar experiment was being made for they had made considerable progress.[32] The Secretary agreed, and wrote to Jervis, 'cordially to co-operate with you in every measure tending to the attainment of the objects common to both societies, and that we shall be most happy to supply you with copies of whatever works come into our Depository'.[33]

Elphinstone on observing the initiative being taken by Jervis felt that it was an opportune moment to bring about a compromise between the promotion of education, indirectly, through the Society and its promotion directly by the Government. He assumed that some measures must depend upon, 'the spontaneous zeal of individuals' and should therefore be left to the Society. The Government, on the other hand, should undertake measures requiring 'an organized system, and a greater degree of regularity and permanence than can be expected from any plan, the success of which is to depend upon personal character.'[34] The Education Society should train teachers, the Government should establish new village schools where needed. The Government should pay for the printing of books in the vernacular; the Society should supervise the actual printing and organize the distribution of the books.[35]

In short, Elphinstone wanted to have such a form of education as would change the lives of the people without disturbing their religious sentiments. Though he was all for vernacular education yet he realised the importance of teaching the English language, and suggested the foundation of a school at Bombay for the teaching of English history, geography, and 'the popular branches of science' through the medium of English.

However, it was pointed out that such extensive governmental activity to promote education was unprecedented either in the Company's territories or in Britain. Elphinstone defended it on the ground that without it learning and even literacy would decline because British rule gave Indians no opportunity to accumulate wealth. To this point Warden objected, and argued that most of the Jagirdars, district and village officers were given the same salaries and allowances as before. Elphinstone replied that, 'it is large fortunes alone that can encourage letters. Almost the whole of our expenditure is distributed among the very lowest orders and even our largest salaries (200 or 250 Rupees a month) will not enable a man to maintain a few scholars, much less a college.'[36]

Warden accepted only that part of Elphinstone's plan for the establishment of a Central School at Bombay, and showed much enthusiasm in starting it. Seeing his interest, Elphinstone took a negative stand and stated that, 'every improvement among all classes of the natives is to be postponed until they shall have learned English.'[37] To this Warden retorted that he had never intended that English should be the only language taught but that it should have an equal place with the vernaculars. But after much argument the proposal was suspended and referred to the Court of Directors for its decision.[38]

Some officers no doubt took personal interest in the village schools and tried to encourage them. Very often administrative necessity had forced the Government to undertake a certain amount of vernacular education. They had to have trained men to carry out revenue surveys of their enlarged territories, and the first aim of the Engineer Institution founded in 1823 was to train boys from the Education Society's Charity School as surveyors. The natives were to receive training in some of the mechanical arts and the lower branches of sciences which might render them useful in superintending public works under European Engineers. Forty native pupils were selected to be trained and they received a stipend of Rs.5 each. They were given instructions in Marathi and Gujarati as appropriate, and Geeorge Jervis the Superintendent translated several text books for them. Jervis gave an estimate of the expenditure and said that it would be Rs.1872.[39]

Captain Sutherland brought to the notice of the Government that if Indians could be selected for subordinate posts in the engineering department, then why not in the revenue work which they were already undertaking. In 1825 Captain Sutherland accordingly suggested the formation of an institution for this purpose; this he thought would make it possible to create 'a well-organised body of native revenue servants,' formed into 'a native civil service' of some 250 officers.[40]

Elphinstone whole heartedly supported the idea. In fact he had thought of this plan much earlier and had written to Munro : "We should enter on a plan for the education of our Junior Civil Servants.... circulate a copy of the Madras Regulations for the college, which seem simple and economical .....".[41] To him, therefore, the establishment of the Native Civil Service was very welcome for it would train 'a body of men raised above the ordinary level by their education and encouraged by the permanence of the service.'[42] Soon there might be Indian Sub-Collectors, or even Collectors and Judges. But then he thought that if they gave so much encouragement the picture might be reversed, for the natives might not be content with only a part and might eventually demand the whole. Even so, Elphinstone thought it 'better for our honour and interest, as well as for the welfare of mankind, that we should resign our power into the hands of the people for whose benefit it is entrusted, than that it should be wrested from us by a rival nation....'[43]

This plan was therefore referred to the Court of Directors for its approval. In the meantime they thought, that they should ask Chaplin to send a few young men to the Engineer Institution for training, so that as soon as the approval of the Court would arrive they could put the plan into practice.

At first it was thought that the Brahmins from Pune might be reluctant to go to Bombay. But much to their surprise, Warden wrote to Elphinstone that '200 persons had applied for admission to the Principal of the College and 20 to 30 were still coming. Most of them were below 25 years of age but Chaplin had decided to select those between 14 and 18 years of age.'[44] Eventually 24 brahmins were sent. It was going to cost the Government Rs.392 a month for their maintenance plus Rs.200 as the salary of the superintendent. Warden and Goodwin thought this to be an expensive affair, but then as the plan had made so much progress it was allowed to continue.[45]

Elphinstone no doubt laid the foundation of various educational institutions and educational societies - but they could not make considerable progress as the main obstacle was whether the encouragement be continued in native languages or to transplant them by education in English. Elphinstone had to constantly put up a fight with his colleagues, especially his secretary Warden over this issue - for the latter was for English as the medium of instruction and Elphinstone was for Vernacular. But this did not mean that Elphinstone was against the teaching of English, for he himself had stated in his Minute that he wanted a superior kind of school teaching English, as well as the languages of the country in each Collectorate, and a smaller school for native languages in each pargana. There were to be ten of this superior kind of schools, and about a hundred of the lower order. He wanted a college for the higher branches of native learning combined with European science, and for this purpose two or three well - qualified men must come from England. Prizes must be offered for higher branches of learning as in Bengal, and he would be happy if some cheap prizes were given for the lower branches of learning throughout the country. He was also anxious that the natives receive education of a judicial nature; and the department in this learning to be a part of the college. But he feared this was asking too much since it was not there either in Bengal or in Madras.[46]

When he left Bombay in 1827 most of these requests remained unfulfilled. They were in the nature of great expectations. In spite of this disappointment he continued to push the matter from time to time and hoped "that sooner or later something will be done." There were men like Captain Jervis, 'a most zealous advocate for education', said Elphinstone.[47] Jervis had already shown Elphinstone in 1826 the nature of his plan to promote education through the Bombay Native School Book and School Society. He stated that there would be 26 schools in each Collectorate and the total cost would be Rs.90,000 for the maintenance of the schools and Rs.30,000 for purchasing and printing books. A plan regarding the distribution of work and the expenses is given in the appendix No. 1.[48]

Elphinstone's Literary Interests

The Literary Society of Bombay was founded by the Oriental Scholar Sir James Mackintosh in 1804, for the purpose of promoting useful knowledge, particularly such as is more immediately connected with India.

With Mountstuart Elphinstone Governor and President of the Society 1819-1827, the Society took a broader view of its responsibilities. The society was devoted to research in oriental studies and its members used to present research papers based on original documents on various subjects including history of India, arts and literature and sciences of India.

Elphinstone believed that the Natives possessed the greatest aptitude for instruction and that "the more intimately acquainted with them British gentlemen may become the more capable will they be of ascertaining correctly the motives and principles of conduct, which actuate the present Hindu and of penetrating into the darkest recesses of the antique rich and copious mind of Sanskrit learning which had been hitherto so little explored."[49]

To facilitate this approach, Elphinstone, with the enlightened liberality of the Government over which he presided encouraged and promoted the compilation and publication of Grammars and Dictionaries of the Marathi and Gujerati Languages. He had entrusted Vans Kennedy to collect inscriptions, monuments, etc.[50] He also financed the Native Education Society as referred to earlier. His "donations" to the Literary Society were many and included the valuable copy of Dante's 'Divina Comeda.'[51] The Society might have benefited even more if his Library and papers had not been burnt at Pune during the war with the Peshwa.

It has been observed that Elphinstone was deeply interested in Muhammedan architecture. The mosques, mausoleums, forts and palaces at Aurangabad, Bijapur, Agra and Delhi had left an indelible impression upon him. Later, when he visited Cairo he remarked "The Taj is unequalled anywhere, and there are at least a dozen of buildings at Delhi which can find no equal here.'[52]

Elphinstone as stated earlier was a man of great literary interest. He was not only interested in Western literary work but also that of the East, especially Persian poetry. He was familiar with the writings of Sadi, Rumi and Hafiq among others. By 1802, he had started inserting Persian couplets into his journal in order to give expression to his feelings. He learnt much of his 'insane philosophy from the Persians;' he even tried to imitate

Hafiq and translated some of his ghazals.[53]

In spite of his exacting work, Elphinstone found time time for his literary pursuits. He communicated the copious and diversified stores of his own knowledge, and "as imitation is the best form of flattery he was indirectly, as also directly by persuasion, responsible for creating a 'literary taste' in the Province. His own literary output is by no means small, including as it did the account of the Kingdom of Cabul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary and India (1815) the Rise of the British Power in the East (1887)[54] and the History of India (1841).

It is true that Elphinstone's History of India could not dislodge James Mill who published his History of India in 1820, and which was reprinted twice before Elphinstone's book came out, and continued to hold the public mind even after the publication of Elphinstone's history. Mill's history was essentially a plea for the British rule in India. Elphinstone and other contemporary historians like Grant Duff, Todd, Malcolm took a sympathetic view of Indian society and people, and did not indulge much, like the utilitarians, in condemning their Hindu or Muslim predecessors. They were writing history, with a view to knowing the people whom they were destined to rule. It was essentially a search for the vital elements in the socio-politico-economic structure which had sustained the system. Perhaps this liberal and sympathetic attitude towards the people, made them work out the existing system without many 'innovations', which made the foundation of British rule in India stronger.

Elphinstone's History of India was read and appreciated by the intellectual class, who were broad minded and impartial enough to acknowledge that it was better than Mill's prejudiced account of India, who had never visited India. Elphinstone was then sometimes called the "Tacitus of Modern historians." A glance at the reviews of his book will give us an idea of its true merit :-

The Monthly Review May 1841 says "One of the principal advantages which the author has enjoyed over Mill lies in this, that he has largely examined for himself the native materials and other oriental authorities.

Mr. Elphinstone appears to us to have grasped the Indian character fully, and to have fairly described it, that is, with due allowance for all circumstances, so as to give a tolerating interpretation to many things, which strangers would pronounce to be deliverately gross vices. His inferences, just as do his principles and grounds of constructions, differ widely from those of Mill. His representation upon the whole are favourable to the people."

The Athenaeum: (A Journal of English and Foreign Literature, Science and the Fine Arts) remarked " .... Elphinstone possesses the superior merit not only of having examined the native Indian materials, but of having penetrated into the Hindoo mind, and grasped the principles which give unity and vitality to their entire social system...."

The Examiner reports, "book is entitled to unreserved commendation - style admirable .... Mr. Elphinstone has the good fortune to have written under the guidance of impressions received in India ...."

The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Letters, Arts, Sciences etc. stated "... Coming from him is enough to stamp them as of the highest authority. They are indeed admirably written - a pattern of historical succintness, and yet containing all that we wish to learn...."

The Spectator, pointed out "A more extended and a juster knowledge is therefore brought to his task by Mr. Elphinstone than Mill could attain to from the nature of things, and his History of India if it achieves no other object, will enable the student to examine his subject from two points of view."[55] Similarly other Newspapers and Journals too state similar views.

These reviews reveal that Elphinstone's account of the History of India was superior to that of Mill. They also bring out the fact that he enjoyed a high status and respect in society. For some it was indeed, as Milman said, "the best" history of India to appear in English. Within four weeks seven hundred and fifty of the twelve hundred and fifty copies printed were sold. The History of India went into four editions in Elphinstone's lifetime; it was repuolished after his death to remain, 'the best standard work' for over half a century. In 1910, Alfred Lyall praised Elphinstone as still 'the best and most readable of Anglo-Indian historians.'[56]

Mountstuart Elphinstone and Maratha History

Elphinstone's real desire was to write a history of the Marathas, during his youth but 'as he was gradually getting involved in the affairs of the Marathas,' he wrote to his friend Strachey in London that 'he would continue to collect material and would write it during old age.'[57]

The brief sketch of Maratha history which he incorporated in his monumental report on the territories conquered from the Peshwas, shows his acquaintance with the contents of this subject. Of course, the picture of Maratha history in 1819 was hazy, and hence there are some factual mistakes in his, 'hasty view of the history of the Mahrattas.'[58]

Elphinstone did not disclose his intention of writing the history of the Marathas till the middle of 1819. However, he was preparing the ground for it, which is evident from his instruction to James Grant the Political Agent at Satara that he should collect documents of historical significance under his charge. Grant, as desired, did the required task, but was not aware of the intention of Elphinstone to write a history of the Marathas. The collection of material at the instance of Elphinstone inspired him to undertake the task of writing the history of the Marathas. When Elphinstone learnt about Grant's proposal, contrary to feeling jealous was delighted, and without pausing a moment to review the qualifications of

Grant for such a stupendous and complicated task, wrote back to him by return of post, "I am delighted with your progress in historical collections, and still more with your intention of putting them in order. I certainly do advise you most earnestly to do so."[59]

Elphinstone sounded more enthusiastic than Grant, for the very next day again, he writes : "In 1818 Maratha history was a closed chapter. It was therefore possible for a historian to view it as a whole;" and added, "the wholeness of your subject is one of its greatest beauties."[60] He further outlined the scope of the subject in these words, "Maratha history would embrace the downfall of the Mogul Empire and the rise of our own as well as that, which is its professed object to treat. It must be well thought over and then told."[61]

Therefore when Elphinstone gave some instructions to Grant, he said :

(1) That a knowledge of Persian and Marathi was a must.

(2) He pointed out that it was necessary to get at facts and combine them with judgement so as to make a consistent and rational history of a mass of gossiping bakhars and Tawareekhs.

(3) Elphinstone also suggested that it was equally important to get all Mostyn's, Malet's and Palmer's dispatches.

(4) He was particular about the manner in which the

history of the Marathas should be presented to the European readers. The book should appeal to the European taste so that it could be easily sold in the European market.

(5) Recommended simple and plain style to historians.

(6) History should not be a mere narration of facts chronologically. Facts should be interpreted, and a causal relationship should be established between them.

(7) A historian of the Marathas should understand the spirit behind the swift and unprecedented movements of the people, who were practically leaderless, and should feel the pulse of the people.

(8) A historian may occasionally become imaginative, but he should make it clear to the reader which portion of his history is conjectural.

(9) Elphinstone suggested that the facts of history be so arranged that the reader would get acquainted with the character of the people under review, their customs, mode of living and in what respects they differed from their rivals etc.

(10) With a view to making history lively, he recommends the use of anecdotes, but warns against jokes and sly hits.[62]

Grant too was much pleased by this encouraging pat on his back from his master and set himself seriously to the task of giving effect to his 'floating ideas'. He started ransacking state papers, family papers and other documents of historical significance.[63]

Grant, as soon as he would complete writing a chapter, would send it to Elphinstone, who used to go through it hurriedly and convey his impressions and suggestions with a request to send new material as it got ready. "With respect to your History, I long to see what is done. Pray send it to me when you can spare it for some time, in case I should be delayed."[64]

Elphinstone was very frank in his remarks, which he calls 'censures'. But Grant never misunderstood him; for he writes: "I feel grateful for your letter, the censure is most necessary and saves me future shame."[65] At another place he writes that "these censures have given him much stronger encouragements than he had ventured to hope."[66] While writing the history of the Marathas, Grant was all the while feeling that this stupendous task should have been undertaken by Elphinstone. He writes : "Mr. Elphinstone had at one time some idea of writing the Marathas history and it is a pity that official business interfered to prevent his even arranging his plans."[67]

Grant, however, could not complete his task of writing in India. He left India in 1823, and three years later in 1826 his book, 'A History of the Mahrattas' was published. Grant was thus indebted to Elphinstone for his Maratha history. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that he dedicated his history to Elphinstone. When he sought his permission to do so Elphinstone humbly writes, "I am much flattered by your proposed notice of me in your publication. I wish I saw it in print."[68]

Grant dedicated his monumental work to Elphinstone in these words : "To the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor etc. etc. of Bombay in Testimony of respect and Gratitude of esteem for the private, and of admiration of his public character, the work is inscribed by the most obedient humble servant" - The Author.[69]

Thus, it can be pointed out that though Elphinstone did not write the History of the Marathas, but influenced its writing. Besides Grant he also encouraged others like, Todd, Erskine, Vans Kennedy and Briggs. In fact Briggs translated the Tarikhi-i-Firishta and a portion of the Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin (A History of Mahomedan Power in India) at his instance. His 'Letters addressed to a young person in India' was also due to his encouragement.[69A]

The Farewell Address on 20th November 1827 applauded Elphinstone's efforts in India regarding encouragement of the literary arts, the study of the vernacular and the education of the natives.[70]

The citizens of Bombay started a fund for the establishment of an Institution in Elphinstone's honour in appreciation of his work in the field of education and social welfare.[71]

Elphinstone's Social Reforms

Elphinstone strongly believed that the spread of education would gradually lead to the disappearance of some Hindu religious superstitions and social evils like sati, infanticide and others. He was quite critical of certain Indian habits and customs, and cited for instance the ills of early marriages, the burden of an excessive population on the land, the custom of Indians squandering a life time's saving on a marriage or a funeral ceremony, the hopelessness of peasants in the clutches of money lenders, the general indifference of the people to 'good clothes and houses', and most significantly the absence of that courageous public spirit which alone could make good laws beneficial to that country. Elphinstone sincerely hoped that the Marathas would acquire more orderly habits, show increased industry, and obtain a taste for the comforts of life. Elphinstone spoke in terms of a moral improvement which would raise the minds of the people so that when Britain's connexion with India ceased the people would be able to govern themselves and design measures for their own improvement.

This view that education is a panacea for social evils was widely held all over the British territories in India. Elphinstone like his contemporaries too was very critical of the practice of Sati and felt this evil, should be done away with. This problem of Sati has been discussed by Prof.

Ballhatchet at length in his book 'Social policy and Social change in Western India', therefore here only a brief survey has been undertaken.

Elphinstone did not want to introduce any law or take any harsh steps towards the abolition of Sati. He was of the opinion that the Hindu religion itself could come to the rescue - for the Shastras themselves contained a number of restrictions upon the practice of Sati; like for instance, the Hindu law forbade Sati in cases of pregnancy or of infants dependent on the mother; and even if the woman was below the age of puberty. Besides that the practice of Sati differed from province to province in India. For example in Bengal - where a widow could only be burnt in the company of her husband's corpse. If she had any infant children it was necessary for some-one to guarantee them a suitable maintenance before she could be allowed to burn herself. While in Maharashtra the custom was that a widow might be burnt in company with the bones, or even merely the turban or the dagger of her dead husband. Here the practice of Sati in general was quite rare, hence Elphinstone said that 'we are of opinion that the less we interfere in the practice the better'; and further added that the Government should turn to other reforms. In Maharashtra Southern Konkan was in fact the only exception where Sati was practiced in great numbers.[72]

Elphinstone thus instructed his Collectors that they should be present when the ceremony of Sati was being performed and to see to it that it was in keeping with the Hindu law and that no widow was being forced into it. In order to discourage the practice, Elphinstone said that a pension should be given to the widow, who herself took the decision not to commit Sati.[73] The Supreme Government also approved of it.[74]

Several widows in the Deccan were dissuaded from committing sati. Briggs gave Rs. 7 a month to the widow of one of his officials (Karkuns) and a reward of Rs.50 to the Brahmin who persuaded her not to become a Sati. H.D. Robertson the Collector of Pune even granted to one widow her travelling expenses to Benares on condition that she renounced her intention of becoming a Sati.[75]

However, this policy of giving pension was abolished as soon as the Deccan came under the authority of the Bombay Government, on the ground that it might 'lead persons to pretend a resolution to sacrifice in the hope of being thus paid for desisting.'[76] The practice of Sati continued to be popular in South Konkan and some parts of Maharashtra.

Robertson the Collector of Pune, worked out a plan to dissuade the practice i.e. he suggested that the funeral pyre should be constructed in such a way as to allow the widow to escape at any time she wished to do so. He decided to take up the issue when the eminent Shastrees such as Malhar Shastri, Nilakantha Shastri, Raghu Acharya, Vithal Upadhyaya and others came to Pune for Dakshina.

Robertson explained his plan but with the exception of Vithal Upadhyaya it was rejected by all. Robertson did all that was within his ability to convince them. He was strongly supported by Vithal Upadhyaya, who gave a detailed description of the way in which a pyre ought to be built in order to conform to the Shastras, and enable the widow to escape if at any time she wished to do so, and it should be voluntary.

Vithal Upadhyaya's description was 'unanimosuly pronounced to be excellent', and Robertson thereupon 'declared that piles upon that model would for the future be the only ones allowed in this district.'[77]

Besides that, when a widow declared that she wished to become sati, the pyre should be minutely described to her, and it should be made clear to her that if she tried to escape then she would be 'consigned to the outskirts of the town and to the society of Chandals (Dhers)'. The Government agreed that the rules were likely to have a deterrent effect and told him to send particulars of Robertson's proceedings to the other Collectors also and requested them to follow.[78]

In the beginning this policy seemed to have some effect in some districts, but it had no effect in South Konkan and the same old practice continued, and much to Robertson's disappointment in 1825 two widows were burnt in Pune within a week or so of each other. This made Chaplin doubt the efficiency of the new rules as deterrent.[79]

These events were brought to the notice of Elphinstone, who once again stated the same old policy to be put in practice i.e. to take advantage of Hindu law which forbade the sacrifice in case of pregnancy or of infants dependent on the mother etc., and suggested that the grant of pensions to widows who restracted might again be authorised. But Warden now objected on the ground that the Government might be defrauded - the reason why it had been decided in 1819 that such pensions should no longer be granted. At Elphinstone's suggestion the matter was referred to the Governor-General in Council, who advised against it. The idea was therefore abandoned.[80] It is strange that the Elphinstone Code of 1827, mentions nothing about it.

Besides attending to social problems Elphinstone was equally interested in promoting the welfare of the people. Thomas Coats was the first European surgeon in charge of an Alms house, a hospital and was responsible for medical attendance to prisoners.[81] Elphinstone had started a 'Native Pension Fund' for the widows of the Peshwa's army. They had to produce documentary proof that they were the lawful wives of the deceased. Elphinstone's selected Minutes on the defence of Bombay reveal his interest in the welfare of the army personnel, and his detailed study of the military organisation of the Bombay Presidency. Among the military reforms introduced by him and his council were the revision of the salaries of army staff. He supported the demand of the Native army for compensation on account of the then prevailing high prices of grain. He advocated the cause of Widows of Native army officers for family pension. In one of his minutes he has clearly mentioned that if a sepoy is killed in action his family should be pensioned as a matter of course.[82]

Elphinstone and the Press

Elphinstone being a conservative was in favour of education for Indians but believed that they should in no way be allowed to enter the political field or to freely express their views regarding the Government. This can be seen from his letter to Strachey : "A free press and foreign Yoke are incompatible with each other."[83] Elphinstone admitted that he was aware of the fact that though for the present it does not affect the natives much - but it affects the Europeans to a great extent who read the newspapers and discuss and talk of liberty and Whigs and Tories and later on create trouble for them.[84] For he further writes about, 'Buckingham's morning dose (paper) but it would not get into their heads unless connected with some question about 'Batta', tent contracts, promotion or in short some of those topics which have more than once shaken the Government even when the foundations had not previously been loosened by the press. The remaining portion of the Europeans though probably at least 2/3 of them can read, are not of sufficient importance to make it expedient to risk an empire for the sake of furnishing them with amusing newspapers."[85]

The Supreme Government had abolished the censorship of the press but it had laid down certain rules and regulations to guide the editors of the newspapers not to indulge in reflections on the public conduct of the government or any of its branches of administration, with a warning that any disregard of the rules laid down would be seriously noticed. They had also to obtain a license before starting a newspaper.[86]

The first printing machine was installed in Bombay in 1779. Installation of a printing machine was followed by the appearance of a newspaper. The Bombay Herald, a weekly, came out in 1789. Bombay Gazette appeared in 1790. Bombay Courier, another weekly assumed publication in 1791. These English newspapers were the off shoots of the British press. The Anglo-Indian press was more English in spirit than Indian. The editors and proprietors were British and therefore these newspapers represented English opinion marked by Indian local colour.[87] According to Lord Hastings's instructions the same rules and regulation regarding the press were laid down in Maharashtra, and had to do away with the censorship though Elphinstone did not approve of them personally. This further emphasises the point made above. Elphinstone strongly criticised the Bengal Government's liberal attitude towards the Press; and said that it was, 'the destruction of the infant liberties of the Calcutta Press.'[88] He further added; "I am not Whig enough to think a free press desirable, when you have an enslaved people. I am not bold enough to think we can keep this country at present without an arbitrary Government and I am not philanthropist enough to consent to quit India - rather than interfere with its nascent liberty; or to speak more truly, I do not think India has any chance of freedom unless she remains for a considerable time in our possession. But the immediate dangers of a free press are seen from its effects on the army and I suppose neither you nor I are Whigs enough to wish to see the measures of Government canvassed and controlled by such a public."[89]

Inspite of these misgivings he allowed the natives to have a Marathi paper, as there was one in Gujarati but asserted that, "care, however, must be taken that it be not edited by a second Buckingham nor furnished with inflammatory articles, by disappointed men of the military class who being hungry and unemployed disapprove of the present regime..."[90]

Elphinstone's fears were realised when a similar Buckingham incident took place in Bombay. Despire the rules and regulations laid down the editors took liberty to publish offensive remarks on the public conduct in the press. For instance the Chief Justice Sir Edward West of the Supreme Court of Bombay quarrelled with the members of the bar, who formed a strong party against Elphinstone. One of the newspapers supported Elphinstone's point, the Chief Justice complained of as reflecting on him. The editor Mr. Fair, was warned by Elphinstone, but the attack continued. Finally the editor was asked to leave Bombay. The task was easy as Fair had not till then received a licence, though he had already applied for it to the Court of Directors.[91]

On the eve of his departure Elphinstone complained of the attitude of the native press also. Writing to a friend, he said : "The Native Press has already published some very obnoxious paragraphs, on the Gaikwad and also on the British intentions of attacking Sind which were not true."[92] Elphinstone admitted that it was their "own exertion to diffuse the art of printing and the habit of reading printed publications",[93] as important, that was responsible for the rapid increase of the popularity of the press. Once its popularity spread it was necessary to exert some control on what was published by the press. This shows his precise and acute judgement in the formulation of the press policy, which he wanted the Government to follow.

A Brief Review of Elphinstone's Activities

Thus while reviewing Elphinstone's policies as a reformer it can be said that his attitude in the task of educational and social reforms in India may be regarded as Bearce points out "A unique synthesis of the currents of the time."[94] Elphinstone had the conservative element of appreciating the best in Indian culture and the, "conservative emphasis on the improvement coming from the whole Indian society."[95] Again he was prepared, to introduce Liberal reforms and western learning when the time would demand it. In short, Elphinstone possessed energy, great foresight, morality, experience and knowledge of synthesise the great elements of British thinking of the time and to take the right decision in right time to make the reforms, far reaching, beneficial, and permanent.[96]

Elphinstone left Bombay in 1827 when his projects were yet in progress. Some of them were fulfilled shortly after his departure for instance, the first English School was opened at Bombay and about the same time an English department was attached to the Sanskrit College at Pune. The battle between English and the vernacular as the medium of instruction was ultimately fought out at Calcutta and won by Macauley - as the champion of English; but the latter accepted Elphinstone's suggestion that at least one lakh of rupees should be kept aside for the promotion of education.[97] In 1834 was opened the Elphinstone Institution and Elphinstone was requested 'by the natives to interview some people in London and recommend them for positions in India....' In 1836 Prof. Orlebar came to Bombay as the first British Professor of this Institution, on the recommendation of Elphinstone.[98] His appointment was due to Elphinstone's efforts. Bal Shastri Jambhekar was the first Indian to occupy the professorial chair in the Elphinstone College;[99] and who during his tenure as professor did much for the uplift of the natives. He pointed out that Mountstuart Elphinstone had opined that both justice and fairplay required admission of the natives to the superior offices in the state services.[100] Thus from those natives who were educated under the English superintendence a fresh class had sprung up in Maharashtra to whom the British could look for collaboration. The new Maratha intelligentsia was middle class by character. The bulk of the new middle class was employed in the administrative apparatus. The professional classes of teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, and others also welled the ranks of the new Maratha intelligentsia. The consequence of Mountstuart Elphinstone's policy was that he unwrittingly sowed the first seed of the freedom Movement in Maharashtra.

Notes

1. Balhatchet, K. Social Policy and Social Change in Western India 1817-1830, London, 1957, p.248.
2. Bearce G.D. British Attitudes Towards India 1784-1858, Oxford 1961, p.72.
3. Elphinstone to Captain Irvine 1819. Quoted by Ballhatchet K., p.248.
4. Bishop Heber, R. Narrative of A. Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India 1824-25 Vol. I, London, 1828, pp.48-49.
5. Ballhatchet K. op.cit. p.248.
6. Elphinstone's Minute on Education, 1824. Official Writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone. Edited by G.W. Forrest, London, 1884, pp.101-102.

6A. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.249.

7. Forrest, G.W. op.cit. p.81.
8. Ibid p.105.
9. Elphinstone's Report : Official Writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone, edited by G.W. Forrest pp.334-335.
10. MSS EUR F88 BOX15A. 1823.
11. Ibid.
12. Elphinstone's minute on Education, op.cit. 1824, p.81.
13. Ranade, P.V. Maharashtra Under The Company 1818-1808, Poona, 1971. Unpublish thesis, p.197.
14. MSS EUR F88 BOX 8A, Letter No. 30 & 33.

Vans Kennedy to Elphinstone, no date, p.824.

15. MSS EUR F88 File No. 12, BOX 8A No. 4. J. Taylor to Elphinstone, 24-8-1821.

16. Elphinstone Report, op.cit. p.335.

17. Ballhatchet K. op.cit. p.252.

18. Ibid, p.253.

19. Ibid, p.255.

20. Choksey R.D. The Aftermath 1818-1826, Bombay, 1950, p.111.

21. Ibid.

22. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.255.

23. MSS EUR F88 BOX 15A. Extract of a letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors dated 11th June 1823 on Education.

24. MSS EUR F88 BOX 15A. Chaplin to Elphinstone, 1823. Beej Gunnit, a Sanskrit treatise on Algebra which Strachey had translated from a Persian text.

25. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 24. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay, 17-1-1824.

26. Strachey to Elphinstone, 20-1-1825 quoted by Ballhatchet, K.P. 257.

27. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.258.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid p.260.

30. Ibid.

31. Jervis to Government, 4-10-1823, quoted by Ballhatchet K. p.261.

32. MSS EUR F88 BOX 15A. Captain Moundford to G. Jervis, 30-4-1824.

33. MSS EUR F88 BOX 15A. Mounford to Jervis, 1826.

34. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.261.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid, pp.262-263.

37. Ibid. p.264.

38. Ibid.

39. MSS EUR F88 BOX 15A, G. Jervis to Government, 1823. Scales of teachers etc. under the Government

Supdt. of the Engineer Institute Rs.	500
Tutor in the English Dept.	300
" " " Native "	100
Asstt. tutor in the Native "	50
Asstt. Draftsman & Surveyor	80
Master Carpenter & Joiner	40
Master Plasterer & modeller	40
Master Mason & Potter	40
Purvoe	50
Store keeper	30
Peons	6
Lascer	6
Native Supt. in the Rev. Dept.	200
25 students to be taught in the business of Rev. Dept. (Rs.8 per head)	200
Sub-assistant Surveyor & Builder	30

40 stipendiary Native Pupils to be entertained (Rs.5 each)	200

	1872

40. MSS EUR F88 BOX 12C. Captain Suthernland to Govt., 1825.

41. Munro Papers : MSS EUR F151 No. 63. Minute of the Honourable the Governor, no date.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. MSS EUR F88 BOX 12C. Warden to Elphinstone, Poona, 4-8-1825.

45. Ballhatchet K. op.cit. p.270.

46. Elphinstone Education Minute 1826 quoted by Chokesy R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone, The Indian Years 1796-1827, Bombay 1971, p.395.

47. Ibid.

48. MSS EUR F88 BOX 15A. Jervis to Elphinstone, 1826, refer to appendix No. 1.

49. From: A narrative of the Development and Achievements of the Compiled by V.D. Muzumdar, Bombay, 1954, p.1.

50. MSS EUR F88 File No. 12 BOX 8A No. 33. Vans Kennedy to Elphinstone, no date.

51. Muzumdar V.D. op.sit. p.2.

52. Grewal, J.S. Muslim Rule in India (The Assessment of British Historians) Oxford University Press, 1970, p.153.

53. Ibid p.155.

54. Muzumdar V.D. op.cit. p.2. This book 'The Rise of the British Power in the East' (1887) was published after his death by his friend Sir T.E. Colebrooke - which was based on his notes and journals.
55. MSS EUR F88 BOX 12B. All the Newspapers and other reviews of Elphinstone's History of India are kept in this Box 12B.
56. Grewal J.S. op.cit. p.130.
57. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 4. Elphinstone to Strachey, Poona, 5-12-1814.
58. Forrest, G.W. 'Selections from the Minutes and other Official Writings of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone', London, 1884, p.264.
59. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6B. Elphinstone to Grant, 19-7-1819.
60. Ibid, Elphinstone to Grant 20-7-1819.
61. Ibid.
62. Bengal Past and Present, Sir Jadunath Sarkar Birth Centenary Number, Vol. LXXXIX, July-December 1970, Part II, Serial No. 168. 'Elphinstone And Maratha History' by Kulkarni A.R., pp.203-207.
63. Ibid, p.202.
64. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6B. Grant to Elphinstone, 11-3-1822.
65. Ibid, Grant to Elphinstone, 31-3-1822.
66. Ibid, Grant to Elphinstone, 9-4-1822.
67. Ibid, Grant to Charles Grant, 20-4-1821.
68. MSS EUR F88 BOX 6B. Elphinstone to Grant, 17-10-1826.
69. Grant Duff J.C. - A History of the Mahrattas, Ed.

S.M. Edwards, London, 1921.

69A. Grewal J.S. op.cit. p.114.

70. MSS EUR F88 BOX IIIC. Extract from the Minutes of the Anniversary Meeting of the Literary Society held in Bombay on Monday the 20th November 1827.

71. Cotton J.S. Rulers of India, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Oxford, 1892, p.196.

72. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.281-82.

73. Peshwa Daftar Poona : Deccan Commissioner's File Vol. 402. Elphinstone to Pottinger, 18-8-1818.

74. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.281.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Choksey R.D. Aftermath, pp.128-29.

78. Ibid, pp.129-30.

79. Ibid, p.130.

80. Ballhatchet, K. op.cit. p.290.

81. Choksey R.D. Aftermath, p.133.

82. Indian History Congress, Aligarh, 1975, Mountstuart Elphinstone as Governor of Bombay. (1819-1827) (unpublished) by V.S. Kamat.

83. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 26. Elphinstone to Strachey Candalla, 7-11-1824.

84. Ibid. Buckingham was the editor of Calcutta Journal who was sued by the Government for exposing some of its policies.

85. Ibid.

86. Heber R. op.cit. Vol.II. 1824-1825, p.146.
87. Ranade, P.V. Maharashtra Under The Company 1818-1858, p.96.
88. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 24. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay, 17-1-1824.
89. Ibid.
90. Chaplin letters : Vol. I 1818-1821.
    MSS EUR F88 BOX 6C. Chaplin to Elphinstone, 3-7-1822.
91. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 26. Elphinstone to Strachey Candalla, 7-11-1824.
92. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone, p.400.
93. Ibid.
94. Beeree G.D. op.cit. p.148.
95. Ibid, p.149.
96. Ibid, pp.148-149.
97. Cotton J.S. op.cit. pp.195-196 and Stocke E. English Utilitarians and India, Oxford 1959, p.45.
98. MSS EUR F88 BOX III, No. G. Prof. Orlebar to Elphinstone, Colaba, 6-10-1836.
99. Ranade P.V. op.cit. 1818-1858, p.117.
100. Ibid, pp. 123-124.

Appendix No. 1.

MSS EUR F88 BOX 15A.
Jervis to Elphinstone 1826.

Some information about the expenses of the Bombay Native School Book and School Society.

T. Schools	Pay
Native Secretary & Depository	Rs. 100 p.m.
Native Suptd. of Maratha Schools in Bombay & Salsette	100 "
Native Supdt. of Maratha Schools in Deccan	60 "
English master	150 "
Assistant	50 "
Maratha School Master 1st Order in Bombay	100 "
- his Assistant	50 "
Maratha School Master 2nd Order	25 "
- his Assistant	15 "
Rent for School Rooms - 24	120 "
In each Collectorate	
1 Master of the 1st order	100 "
His Assistant	50 "
5 Masters - 2nd order at Rs.20/-	100 "
20 Masters - 3rd order at Rs.10/-	200 "
----	-----
26 Schools expense per month	450 "

For 10 Collectorates in the Deccan and Gujrat	4500
260 Schools Expence per year	54000

In each of the 1st class schools 100 boys may be instructed making in all the Collectorates 1000 pupils receiving 1st rate academical Instruction.

7,500 in the second rate (150 in each collectorate)

40,000 in the 3rd rate (40,000) Total 48,500.

The schools may be established in the first instance with the number of scholars above spesified but as the Natives become more familarized with Lancasterian system the number may be doubled.

The population of the Deccan amounts to an average	40,00,000
and of Gujrat including Kathywar	22,50,000

According to the statement therefore provision is only made for the gratuitous education of 1 in 134 in the 1st instance and hereafter of 1 in 67.

Rupees sanctioned	17,472
Additional required	72,960
	90,432

Books:

Sanctioned	3,636
Additional requirement	2,880
	6,516

Charges incurred by Government for the preparation and publication of books.

Present		950
Premiums paid		14500
Expenses of printing & Stationery		33125
Total amount of expenses		
Schools	90,000	
Books	30,000	
	120,000	

CHAPTER II

EPILOGUE

Mountstuart Elphinstone was the product of his age, which was marked by two currents : Industrial revolution and Romanticism. In him we see the spontaneous sympathy for the aristocratic class, faith in the romantic ideals as well as in the progressive, liberal and scientific attitudes. He stood in an age which has been described as the 'age of twilight', a mixture of eighteenth century conservatism and nineteenth century liberalism. A loyal Briton with great sympathy for Indians, his aim was to satisfy both of them to the best of his abilities. He strove to reconcile the conflicting interest of his loyalties.

Mountstuart Elphinstone came to India in 1796 at the early age of 16. He spent in all 32 years in India of which the major portion was spent in Maharashtra. In Maharashtra he started his career from the lowest diplomatic rank, that of an assistant to the Resident and rose to the highest office of the Governor of Bombay Presidency. The subjugation of the Maratha power was a stupendous task for the fulfilment of which Elphinstone addressed his best energies. He strove to conciliate and pacify the conquered Marathas. That the fabric of reconciliation between foreign rulers and the conquered people is seldom woven smoothly, was to be borne out by future events.

It is a historical irony that a person who in his private correspondence censured the British policy of annexing Indian territories was appointed Commissioner and was asked to consolidate the gains of British imperial rule in Western India.

The people of Maharashtra had received the British Government with perfect submission as it was hopeless to resist it. Elphinstone, however, was aware of the turbulent character of the Marathas. He handled the affairs of Maharashtra with great caution and diplomacy. It is an old practice of all despotic and alien rulers to use part of the people satisfied to keep the rest in order. The British rulers resorted to this very game in dealing with the people of Maharashtra. Elphinstone had an insight to sense the inevitable collapse of the British Empire in India. But in the meantime he hoped the day to be far distant, and he resolved that he should contribute his mite to keep it off by great moderation in the settlement of the conquered land.[1] Elphinstone wanted to build a viable base for British Empire. He opted for a policy of conciliating and pacifying the socially dominant classes of Maharashtra without alienating the ~~rayat.~~ ryot.

The establishment of the State of Satara was the first step in this direction. He revived the old 'gadi' of the Chhatrapati. This was a British political move to create a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the Peshwa. Elphinstone's proclamation assured the land-holders that their tenures would be preserved. Consequently the British retained the privileges of the Jagirdars whose loyal attachment was much sought after during the critical phase, when the East India Company was having a precarious hold over the newly conquered people. A practical politician that he was, Elphinstone's philanthrophy was not disturbed when he resolved to leave the demobilised soldiers of the former government to the mercy of their own fate. Elphinstone reemployed only a selected number of Maratha soldiers into the British army. He was confident that an army without an able leader would not be a potential danger to the British power.

Things were quite different with the jagirdars. They had to be provided comfortably. Though Elphinstone personally had no high opinion about the Maratha Brahmins, yet he did not underestimate their influence over the Maratha people. Elphinstone therefore resolved to continue the state patronage to the Maratha Brahmins through the distribution of Dakshina. His decision to found a Sanskrit College at Pune stemmed from his concern for enlisting the Brahmin support for the new regime. The Jagirdars, the learned Brahmins, the Maratha feudal chiefs and even the chieftains of the turbulent tribels such as the Bhils, the Ramoshis etc. of Sahyadri and Satpura were approached by the new rulers with great caution and understanding.

As Commissioner of the Deccan, Elphinstone prepared a report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa. The report contained a short account of the provinces under the

Peshwa's Government, a sketch of Maratha history, a review of the system of administration of revenue, and justice pursued by the Marathas. Elphinstone's 'Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa', is a classic example of his historical insight and administrative acumen. It is a monumental work in several respects. Besides narrating in brief the political history of the Maratha, it also, perhaps for the first time, sheds light on a few aspects of the socio-economic life of the people. It contained all his ideas about the future reorganisation of the newly conquered land. As Colebrooke has rightly put it : "The pervading tone of this long report is that of moderation and caution in its suggestions, a caution springing not merely from a sense of the political difficulties attending to the conquest of a great empire, but from those which are inherent in the sudden extension of European principles of administration in the East."[2]

In short, it can be said that Elphinstone succeeded in the major task of settling the 'territories conquered from the Peshwa', and in bringing peace and order in the Maratha Country, which enabled him to establish British power firmly in Maharashtra. His was a complex personality. He was at once a liberal, a conservative and an imperialist. This is revealed in his various policies regarding revenue settlement, judicial administration and educational policies.

In the administration of land revenue Elphinstone tried to revive the Maratha system as it existed before Bajirao II.

He abolished the farming system as it was against his sense of a rational Agrarian policy. He instructed his collectors to continue to collect the land revenue through the Patil as had been the Maratha custom, each cultivator paying him for his actual cultivation. He reorganized the revenue divisions and placed them under native mamlatdars who were instructed to settle the land tax in negotiations with the village chiefs and the leading peasants of the village. Elphinstone was initially opposed to the ryotwari system and therefore instructed the mamlatdars to settle the revenue on a village as a whole, instead of settling with individual peasants. But in the end however his revenue policy could not find favour either with his successor or with the Board of Control and was discontinued in 1835. The new policy introduced in that year contained no element of his revenue settlement.

Elphinstone's decision to preserve the Panchayat system of village justice also stemed from his unwillingness, to introduce innovations and changes. During his governorship the whole of the Bombay regulations were formed into a regular code. He was the first governor of Bombay to codify civil and criminal procedures of law, which embodied his life's work for the cause of British consolidation in India. In fact the code of 1827 was Elphinstone's parting gift to the people of Maharashtra. His judicial reforms continued to remain in force till a part of them were replaced by an 'All India Code'.

Elphinstone's patronage to Native Education Society of Bombay showed his concern for fostering education among the natives of all sections. His chief argument for the spread of western education among the natives related to Political expediency. In his Minute on Education he categorically advised the strict exclusion of any programme in which either religion or any other topic likely to excite disconent among the natives should never be touched upon. His main reason for spreading education among the conquered people was a part of his larger concern for creating an extended base for the British rule. Elphinstone's plans and projects arose from his desire to retain political and military power in the hands of the British. But he felt that the jobs of routine nature concerning office work etc. could be assigned to Indians. The press should be used to impart knowledge without exciting political feelings. He was also of the view that colonisation should be carried only to the extent of drawing a little capital and knowledge from Britain without having the natives replaced by Britons. He had also been quite farseeing in that he visualized a time when the British would be expelled from India. But he hoped that he would leave behind a people who would be able to continue the institutions which were started by them such as the Bombay Central School, The Poona College, Royal Asiatic Society etc. The Elphinstone College which was founded by his admirers on his departure from India stands even today in testimony of the success of his educational policy.

Elphinstone was also aware of his failures and successes. Before leaving the country he submitted a report to the Government about his work in Maharashtra. Regarding the prevailing condition of the country he remarked : "The tranquility of the country has surpassed expectation and most of the reduction in the Military Department have probably been made ..."[3] He also gives his reasons as to why he could not succeed in preserving the native system as he had anticipated in his report of 1819. He pointed out that it was neither due to lack of interest on his part nor his colleagues but : "The cause I conceive is to be found in its inconsistency with European notions, and with the principles of administration established in our Indian possessions..."[4]

It has been observed that Elphinstone who as Resident and Commissioner of the Deccan was an enterprising man, and was used to working, almost independently making his own decisions. On the other hand, he becomes almost dull and passive when he finds himself surrounded by routine work of Governorship. This office, in fact was a better one than the one he had held previously, but he condemns it as a drudgery. It can be argued that this change of attitude was mainly because he did not find much of an outlet for his creative instinct. His increased irritability during this period is quite noticeable.

Elphinstone, it appears began his career as Governor at an inauspicious moment. Throughout his stay in Bombay, he faced a number of obstacles while putting forward his policies. During this period he had to face a triple conflict, firstly with the civil servants of Bombay and the members of his executive council, secondly with Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, and thirdly with the Home Government.

As soon as Elphinstone assumed the office, the civil servants showed their displeasure at being degraded by permitting the military personnel to continue as collectors in the areas conquered from the Peshwa. They argued that they had been previously promised the civil posts as soon as the Deccan territories were annexed to the Bombay Presidency in November 1819.[5] A memorial of protest against the continued employment of army officers in the administration of the Deccan was drawn up and signed in 1820, by seventy-five civil servants of the Bombay establishment.[6] H.D. Robertson the Collector of Pune was irritated when he found that his own assistant, Lumsden came to ask his permission to sign the petition.[7] Elphinstone though not pleased with the points, forwarded it to the Court of Directors. He justified his stand by saying that 'these men had stood the test of the time, and it would be unjust on his part to remove them just as soon as the difficult task of the Settlement was over.'[8] The Court of Directors fully sympathised with the claims of the civil servants, but stated that as Elphinstone had justified the cause of the appointment of military men, they should be allowed to continue.[9]

The memorial and reply from the Court of Directors was placed before the Bombay Council. All the members agreed that injustice was done to the Bombay Civil Servants and passed a resolution for removing the same by appointing Civil Service personnel in the vacancies which would be caused thereafter. The civil servants on Elphinstone's Council sympathized with their colleagues and tended to criticize any abuse which came to the light. It seems that to the Civil Servants the continuation of the Deccan System with its military collectors appeared as a challenge to the authority and existence of the civil rule.

Elphinstone's quarrels with Justice Sir Edward West were partly due to his carelessness and partly due to the violent and insistent nature of West. William Erskine was an official of the Bombay's Court of Records. He was tried by the Court on the suspicion of participating in the profits of frauds and extortions. He was asked to resign and return home.[10] Elphinstone on his part committed the blunder of moving a vote of thanks on behalf of the Bombay Literary Society of which he was the President and Erskine the Secretary.[11] Justice West strongly resented this, for it was an insult to the decision taken by the Court. To this Elphinstone argued that, "a man may be a very bad clerk to a Court of Justice and yet a very excellent secretary to a literary society."[12]

By 1823, Elphinstone seemed to have got disgusted and disillusioned with the settlement affairs in the Deccan and he became all the more frustrated as his policies were not being approved either in Bombay or in London. James Mill the great utilitarian, was appointed Examiner at the East India House, and Elphinstone's friend Strachey became his assistant. Elphinstone's policies therefore did not find an easy out let, as his policies had a conservative tone. Elphinstone had nothing against the utilitarian principles, but he believed that aristocracy was the pride of society and that this class should primarily be maintained. Hence his policies were framed in such a way that they would satisfy both the aristocratic class and the general public. The Sanskrit College at Pune, the settlement with the Sardars, the retaintion of the Panchayats etc., were his efforts in this direction. We have seen the difficulties that he had to face in trying to justify his policies. It has been observed that Elphinstone's difficulties with his Council were not of much significance. They were not motivated by a hatred of Elphinstone, but by a dislike of the new system and perhaps by the disquitoning climate of utilitarian and liberal change. His letters to Strachey show that he was even more irritated when his friend instead of supporting him, advised him to follow Mill.

From 1824 Elphinstone seemed to have developed a feeling that he should leave Bombay. He tried to get the post of

Governor of Madras, and failing[13] that at least a post of a 'Naturalist' in London.[14] Both these efforts proved abortive and finally he resolved this mental crisis by resigning from the post of the Governor of Bombay.[15]

An estimate of Elphinstone's Personality

Mountstuart Elphinstone, a romantic introvert who has been described by his biographer as 'a shy and resigned child when he came to India, grew to be a man of deep thought and prompt action during his stay in India.'[16]

Elphinstone from his family heritage, imbibed the spirit of adventurism and enthusiasm for knowing the unknown lands and the people. His great journeys through the various lands revealed this undaunted spirit of adventurism. He kept journals of his every day life and travels which show him to be a man of insatiable curiosity. He was a man of great literary taste. He could find time from his busy schedule for his literary pursuits. Elphinstone's range of reading was very wide, He was a good conversationist who pursued through life of 'recording his opinions on books and things which added much to the force and precision of his remarks.'[17] He was also interested in languages, science and mathematics. This undoubtedly widened his outlook and matured his mind. It can be said that Elphinstone was a self-trained and self-made scholar. He was an efficient administrator and politician who had a cool temper, sound knowledge of the history of the land, the nature of the people he had to deal. His famous work entitled History of India proves his extensive knowledge of the people and their land. He was also gifted with foresight to see things in the proper historical perspective and to take proper decision at the proper time. His reading of the Peshwa's relations with his feudatories, the assessment of Gangadhar Shastri, Trimbakji Dengle etc. is unique in itself. His reading of the Peshwa was very precise and correct which enabled him to attack and defeat the Marathas at the most appropriate moment. This completed the complicated task of British conquest in India. It has been noticed that 'there was in him the union of two natures : the one manly, energetic and full of enterprise, the other having all the tenderness and shirking from display that belong to the other sex...' This nature of his personality 'constituted a character at once to be admired and loved.'[18]

Though Elphinstone was a statesman and had often to deal with problems which required ruthlessness yet this did not harden him and he continued to retain the qualities of love, affection and sincerity. His letters to his family during his stay in India show remarkable attachment to his mother and sisters and unfathomable love for his country as well as a great liking for India.

Elphinstone's letters after 1813 reveal that he was getting home-sick and greatly desired to visit his family provided, as he himself wrote, "I was not likely to be kept out of employment on my return."[19] It appears that even previously he had tried to get leave and had also written to his uncle Keith about it, but it had not materialised.

Though he had been away from home for nearly 18 years, yet he had every detail of his home clearly itched in his mind as can be seen from his letter to his sister. "I should find", he writes "greatly altered as I should miss my chair or table that has been removed. Now, even the trees must be altered some of the old ones are perhaps cut down."[20] It has been observed that though he had expected the changes yet when his sister wrote to him about it, he was greatly disturbed, as he wrote, "I really was shocked to hear of the devastation that you describe in the garden and felt almost as if I had heard of the death of an old friend."[21] At times home sickness was so intense that once he wrote, "I have no thoughts of doing anything at home but leading a quiet and pleasant life on a very moderate income....", then he further added "..... after I return.... I would .... assist in recovering our family interest in Shrling Shire,...."[22] Going through his correspondence with his family one cannot but feel a sense of great compassion for a man, essentially sensitive and romantic, who tried to live his lost childhood through distant memories and correspondense.

From the writings of Elphinstone it appears that one of the main causes of his home-sickness and loneliness was lack of companionship, for he writes to his friend Strachey, "It is the difficulty of spending one's evening alone, I who have not dined alone once, since I was at Benares. It is true one may be out all day and so keep all one's reading for the night, but still it is comfortless to sit down to table alone and have several hours to get through, by your self before bed time." He further writes with a touch of irony, "I hear (and I confess, I am affected at it) that even you a man of curiosity, who can read and write books and enjoy the beauties of nature and art and who have besides a wife and children and as many plagues and pleasures..."[23]

His strong moral integrity forbade him from doing anything immoral outside the bonds of marriage. For he writes in his journal that in Kabul he had the opportunity of seeking any woman he wanted but only contended himself saying, "these dancing girls were handsomer than those of India,". He was a man who had "no relish for sensual pleasure."[24] In his journal he has never mentioned the name of any women, with the exception of Lady Wood, who visited India with her husband. Elphinstone accompanied Woods to Ajanta, Ellora etc. Regarding her he wrote "I was delighted with them both. Lady Wood was so clever so well informed and so lively as to differ much from the ladies. I am usually in the habit of receiving and as she knew so many of my friends it was impossible to conceive better company than she made."[25] From his description of Lady Wood it is apparent that he preferred the company of intelligent women than merely decorative ones. Elphinstone though he had entered his forties had not given up hopes of marriage, "I shall be very happy when I get to England. So let it be, I do not know, but what I should like to have is a wife and four children too and I have them before I am (of) your age, but much depends on the wife..."[26] But later on we see that inspite of these dreamy ideas, he never got married and finally closed the chapter of marriage just two years after writing the above letter by saying, 'too old to set up a wife and family, be nearly unfit for all enjoyments except ambition.. and likewise too old to mix in society so as to be able to do without them...."[27]

One gets the impression from Elphinstone's private correspondence that he was essentially an emotional man. He was all the while thinking about his home-land, his brothers, sisters and friends. He visualized a happy family and a comfortable life towards which he was endavouring to save money. Yet he was destined to live alone without a family. However he made his stay quite comfortable in India by mixing with the natives as well as with the British community. The huge private correspondence available in the India Office Library, reveals how his advise on many personal matters was sought by his friends and colleagues. He enjoyed their confidence as can be seen from the letters sent by his Collectors. Pottinger writes to Elphinstone: "The Birth of my eldest son is so great an event to me that I cannot refrain from announcing it to you as having taken place this morning, and I avail myself of the opportunity to make a request which I have long intended to do. Mrs. Pottinger and myself both feel that you as the kindest and most valuable friend of the parents of the child are one of the most likely to take an interest in it and if you have no objection we should feel highly honoured and gratified by your standing as one of the sponsors when he is christened."[28] Similarly Grant though he had left India much before Elphinstone, as soon as he got a son writes that his wife, "has been guilty of naming her son Mountstuart Elphinstone, without his god father's permission and to which I cannot say I raised any formidable objections except that it would give him a very long signature...."[29] These letters show that even the wives of the collectors admired and respected Elphinstone. In another letter Briggs writes "My stay here (Bombay) however has been delightful as hospitality and kind attention could render it and Mrs. Briggs firmly intended to have written and thanked you for your manifold kindnesses to her..."[30] There is a letter by Chaplin in which he and his wife both thanked Elphinstone for the kind hospitality they received from him when they were in Bombay.[31] Robertson the collector of Pune who left Maharashtra much after Elphinstone in his farewel address does not forget to thank Elphinstone who had entrusted him to the office of collector.[32]

The Collectors as it has been observed in the present study had to face a large number of odd and difficult problems, and it was due to the constant help and encouragement, which they received from Elphinstone that they were able to make progress in their work Elphinstone not only appreciated their work but encouraged them to develop their potentialities - thus some of them turned into good historians and writers; Grant wrote the, 'History of the Marathas' and Briggs wrote a number of books and articles, famous amongst them being his, "History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India till the year A.D. 1612," in 4 volumes.

Elphinstone was not only loved and admired by the English society in India but also by the natives. He became a friend of the business community in Bombay and even of the intellectual class. There are many letters showing that they sought his advice in every respect even when he had left India, for instance Malhar Rao, the nephew of Sadashiv Mankeswar, the chief minister of the Peshwa, had a case in appeal at the Court of Directors with one of his relations Laxman Rao Sadashiv, that stood in appeal for the past seven years without his being able to know its result. When he came to know that Elphinstone had reached England - he immediately expressed the desire that he being a man on the spot, he would take personal interest in his case and would get satisfactory result.[33] Elphinstone looked into the matter, and replied to him that the reason for neglect was that the papers were not submitted to the Court of Directors through proper channel. Elphinstone then followed the correct procedure of submitting the papers through proper channel.[34] Though he loved the Indians and wanted to work for their welfare yet he was too much of an aristocrat to become one with the Indians. He felt that a distance between the two should be maintained. He complains that, "Here every man above the rank of hircarra (messenger) sits down before us..."[35] Elphinstone got annoyed if any Englishman tried to identify himself with the natives. His nephew James Erskine had taken a fancy for native dress and mixed a good deal with the natives with a result that he improved his knowledge of the vernacular. But Elphinstone did not approve of this type of behaviour and wrote to him; "I hope you will like the natives and acquire their language, but do not sink to their level."[36] This shows the British vanity of Elphinstone's character.

Elphinstone as it has been observed was a very pessimistic man always worried about savings. We have on record his letters right from 1813 and every year after that he gives an account of his financial position and of how much would be required for him to lead a decent life in England.[37] His second worry was whether he would be acceptable to the English society. The available letters reveal that up till 1819 his aim was to serve the Indian people whether in India or at Home, therefore as seen earlier he had written to his uncle to get for him a job in England in the Council or into a Parliamentary

Commission, reporting on India. But in 1822 he got tired of Bombay politics and tried for a transfer to Madras, or for a post in the Bengal Council.[38] But in 1825 when he realised that the Court of Directors had no desire to transfer him, he in 1826 sent in his resignation saying, "Whatever are the evils of retirement from the service it must surely make up for them by giving perfect freedom of mind and body."[39] But before leaving India he makes sure that he had saved enough money, so as to lead a comfortable life in England. He writes to Strachey, "I am extremely obliged by your arrangements about my money which set me quite at ease."[40] He left Bombay in November 1827, and reached England in May 1829 after nearly eighteen months.[41]

Elphinstone while in England did not take up any Government assignment though received several offers from the Government, and as pointed out by Cotton, "His constitutional shyness grew upon him and he gradually retired more into the seclusion of his own library,"[42] and produced 'The History of India' in two Volumes. In a way he became a sort of a recluse. Even when his own creations in India were being ruthlessly and unjustly destroyed, as in the case of the Raja of Satara he refrained from making any comment. One is tempted to conclude that Elphinstone became disgusted with the impersonal and cold system of imperialism which had made its advent. In the heart of his heart, he remained a conservative romanticist.

In the later part of his life he was offered the post of the Governor General in 1829, but he declined the invitation on personal considerations.[43] He thought himself an Indian and refused to join after an unpopular man.[44] His arguments are interesting to note.[45] This post was once again offered to him in 1834, when William Bentinck's term of office was drawing to a close. But this time again he declined the offer on the grounds of physical unfittness and said that he would not be in a position to serve the people loyally as before.[46] He was even offered the post of Permanent Under-Secretary under the ministry of Sir Robert Peel. Elphinstone declined this offer although he was repeatedly requested by Peel and his colleagues. Again he was requested to go to Canada as Commissioner,[47] to tackle the political troubles, the country was undergoing at that time. Elphinstone refused it on the plea of health and old age. This goes to prove how much British government counted on his services even at the last stage of his life.

Bishop Heber has rightly remarked that, "Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect an extra-ordinary man ......"[48] He further gave a complete picture of Elphinstone's contribution to his Country and the people of Maharashtra, he wrote, 'Beginning with the preservation of the country's institutions, he introduced revenue reforms education, and the opportunity of Indians to participate in their own government. He envisioned the future independence of India as a consequence of these reforms. Perhaps he accepted the idea that British rule would end eventually because it seemed so distant; but he did not flinch from measures which would lead to this end. His greatness lay in stury moral and intellectual qualities. He possessed energy, foresight, and imagination - as well as knowledge - . As revealed in his attitude towards India, very few Britons in his time possessed such qualities.'[49] Elphinstone has been addressed by the people in different ways, some call him soldier-statesman. and some scholar statesman. But Elphinstone himself must have felt a great sense of satisfaction with the memorial address presented to him at the time of his departure by the Natives of Bombay which among other things says, "We ...... cannot contemplate your approaching departure from the country. ... But having beheld with admiration ...... the affable and encouraging manners, the freedom from prejudice.... the consideration ..... for the interest and welfare of the people .... the regard shown to their ancient customs and laws .... the constant endeavours to extend .... the .... advantages of intellectual and moral improvement, the Commanding abilities applied to ensure permanent amelioration in the condition of all classes and to promote their prosperity on the soundest principles, by which your private and public conduct has been so pre-eminently distinguished."[50]

Mountstuart Elphinstone therefore enjoys an unique place in the history of Modern Maharashtra. Grant Duff's monumental work on Maratha History is concluded with glowing tributes to Elphinstone, also summarises at the same time the work of Elphinstone in Maharashtra. "The name of Elphinstone was deservedly associated with the acts of the British Government, and the memory of benefits conferred by him on the inhabitants of Maharashtra will probably survive, future revolutions, and will do much in the meantime to preserve the existence of British India."[51]

Notes

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3. MSS EUR F88 Box 8E.
   Elphinstone's Report on the Deccan No. 15 - 1827.
4. Ibid.
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6. Ibid.
7. MSS EUR F88 Fox III G.
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8. Choksey R.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone, The Indian Years 1796-1827, Bombay, 1971, p.291.
9. Khobraekar V.G. op.cit. pp.3-4.
10. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 24. Elphinstone to Strachey Bombay 17-1-1824.
11. Choksey R.D. op.cit. p.403.
12. Ibid.
13. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7. No. 21. Elphinstone to Strachey 22-12-1822.
14. MSS EUR F128 BOX 7 No. 25. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay 3-8-1824.
15. Munro Papers: MSS EUR F151:82. Elphinstone to Munro,

Bombay, 15-2-1826.

16. Choksey R.D. op.cit. p.21.
17. Colebrooke T.E. op.cit. Vol. II, p.362.
18. Ibid p.413.
19. MSS EUR F88 BOX 3A, No. 2. Elphinstone to Miss Elphinstone Bath, Poona 6-10-1813.
20. Ibid.
21. MSS EUR F88 Box III C. Elphinstone to Miss Clementina. Elphinstone Poona 22-11-1816.
22. Ibid.
23. MSS EUR F128. Box 7 No. 4, Elphinstone to Strachey, Poona 5-12-1814.
24. Choksey R.D. op.cit. p.44.
25. MSS EUR F88 Box III A No. 2. Elphinstone to Miss Elphinstone Bath Poona, 8-10-1813.
26. MSS EUR F128 Box 7 No. 13, Elphinstone to Strachey Poona 4-2-1817.
27. Ibid 28-2-1819.
28. Pottingers Private Letters: Vol. I MSS EUR F88 Box 7B. Pottinger to Elphinstone 2-10-1822.
29. MSS EUR F88 Box III C. J. Grant Duff to Elphinstone. Inverichney 10-8-1829.
30. Briggs Private Letters : Vol. II, MSS EUR F88 Box 6D. Briggs to Elphinstone Govt. House, 27-1-1821.
31. Chaplin's private letters : Vol. II, MSS EUR F88 Box 6C. Chaplin to Elphinstone, Camp at Kurkee, 4-2-1824.

32. MSS EUR F88 Box III C no date. The reply made by Captain Robertson Collector of Poona to the Memorandum presented to him by the inhabitants of Poona.
33. MSS EUR F88 Box III C. Jamsetjee Jejebhoy to Elphinstone, Bombay 27-2-1829.
34. Ibid.
35. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. II. op.cit. pp.82-83.
36. Ballhatchet, Social Policy And Social Change in Western India 1817-1830, London, 1957, pp.188-189.
37. MSS EUR F128 Box 7 No. 7, Elphinstone to Strachey, Poona 25-3-1813. In this Box there are many more letters relating to his financial position.
38. MSS EUR F128 Box 7 No. 22. Elphinstone to Strachey, Bombay 20-6-1823.
39. Ibid No. 28, Poona 22-6-1826.
40. Ibid No. 31, Bombay 3-4-1827.
41. Ibid.
42. Cotton J.S. Rulers of India, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Oxford, 1892, pp.208-209.
43. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. II, op.cit. p.334.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid p.335.
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47. Colebrooke T.E. Vol. II op.cit. p.338.
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